The Dissertation Committee for Anne E. Proctor Certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Vincenzo Danti at the Medici Court:

Constructing Professional Identity in Late Renaissance Florence

Committee:

Louis A. Waldman, Supervisor

Douglas G. Biow

Alison K. Frazier

Joan A. Holladay

Jeffrey C. Smith

Vincenzo Danti at the Medici Court:

Constructing Professional Identity in Late Renaissance Florence

by

Anne E. Proctor, B.A., M.Ed., M.A.

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Vincenzo Danti (1530-1576), Perugian by birth and training, relocated to Florence in 1557 to work for the Medici court. While there, Danti completed visual and textual works oriented to the interests of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici (1519-1574) and his son, Prince Francesco (1541-1587). Danti also participated in the literary and arts academies that were associated with the ducal program of establishing Florence as a cultural capital. Danti's multi-disciplinary activities during his tenure at the Medici court demonstrate his hopes to secure long-term patronage and to become the primary sculptor to the Medici dukes. This project represents both a reappraisal of Vincenzo Danti's career and an examination of the ways that artists at the Medici court positioned themselves in relationship to their patrons and to one another.

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Introduction: Vincenzo Danti in Late Renaissance Florence

Vincenzo Danti (1530-1576), Perugian by birth and training, moved to Florence at the age of twenty-seven to work for the Medici court. He remained there for sixteen years, during which time he produced works in bronze, marble, plaster, clay, poetry, and prose. Before his relocation to the Tuscan capital, Danti had studied in Rome, worked on major commissions in his hometown of Perugia, and worked for a short period in Florence before 1552.[1] The connections he forged in that early trip eventually provided the young sculptor access to the patronage of the Medici rulers, which he cultivated throughout the duration of his time in the city. Between 1557 and 1573, Danti completed visual and textual works oriented to the interests of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici (1519-1574) and his son, Prince Francesco (1541-1587). Danti also participated in the academies that had been founded by Florentines and were associated with the state's program of establishing Florentine cultural supremacy. For his multi-disciplinary pursuits and for the importance of the objects he created, Danti merits more scholarly attention than he has yet received. This project investigates Danti's construction of his professional persona, his efforts to secure long-term patronage, and his goal to become the primary sculptor to the Medici dukes. As such, this project represents both a reappraisal of Vincenzo Danti's career and an examination of the ways that artists at the Medici court positioned themselves in relationship to their patrons and to one another. This microhistory of Danti's tenure in Florence reveals the ways in which he was a typical member of the group artists who worked for the Medici, while it also considers the aspects of his career that made him unique, such as his literary accomplishments and his ties to other Perugians in Florence.

[1] For new evidence establishing the chronology of this earlier activity in Florence, see Chapter 1.

PATRONAGE IN DUCAL FLORENCE

The court of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici was a new entity in the constellation of European principalities, and his rule from 1553 to 1573 united Tuscany for the first time in centuries. By the time Danti arrived in Florence, Cosimo had conquered Siena and had been ceded rule of that city by the Holy Roman Emperor. The duke also ruled coastal territory from the marble quarries of the Apuan Alps to the seaport of Livorno and the fortifications on the island of Elba. At the same time, Cosimo sought to build a cohort of courtiers who reflected this grandeur, and who were trustworthy and exceptional in their given specialties.[2] By demonstrating his abilities in the visual, spoken, and textual languages in which the Florentine court operated, Danti gained entry into these elite and erudite circles of court servants to an extent that only a few of his rivals, such as Vasari and Bronzino, could match.

The concept of *fiorentinismo* dominated. In other words, Cosimo and his courtiers drew from the literary and artistic history of Florence, as well as the history of the Medici family, to portray the Medici court as a cultural center of the Italian peninsula.[3] Artists

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[2] Alan Darr, "The Medici and the Legacy of Michelangelo in Late Renaissance Florence: An Introduction," in *The Medici, Michelangelo, and Late Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press with the Detroit Institute of the Arts, 2002), 3; Paola Tinagli, "Claiming a Place in History: Giorgio Vasari's Ragionamenti and the Primacy of the Medici," in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Brookfield and Aldershote: Ashgate, 2001), 63-65. Paola Tinagli, "The Identity of the prince: Cosimo de' Medici, Giorgio Vasari, and the Ragionamenti," in *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art, ed. Mary Rogers* (Brookfield and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 189, describes that Cosimo "was engaged in consolidating his rule, reorganizing the administration of the state, strengthening his dynastic claims and attempting to gain a significant role on the Italian and European stage."

[3] Frances E. Thomas, "'Cittadin nostro Fiorentino': Michelangelo and *Fiorentinismo* in mid-sixteenth-century Florence," in *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art*. ed. Mary Rogers. (Brookfield, VT, and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 177-187; Massimiliano Rossi, "'...that naturalness and Florentinity (so to speak),' Bronzino: language, flesh and painting," in *Bronzino, Artist and Poet at the Court of the Medici*, ed. Carlo Falciani and Antonio Natali (Florence: Mandragora, 2010), 178-181.

contributed to visual projects that supported this image of the court.[4] Danti was a technically gifted sculptor, but he was not an artist of the first rank, such as Michelangelo. His sculpture did not inspire the reverence or emulation that Michelangelo's works did; he did not produce poems equal in quantity or inventiveness to those of Michelangelo, Cellini, or Bronzino; and his *First Book of the Treatise on Perfect Proportion* was not as original as the *Treatise on Painting* by Leonardo da Vinci. Yet, his activities in Florence reveal his efforts to meet and to surpass the expectations of the court that he served. I argue that Danti created objects and texts to demonstrate his capacity to support the Medici state agenda, and he received conspicious patronage, installing sculptures on the most important buildings in Florence. During the 1560s, he was arguably the most prominent sculptor working in Florence, and it is not stretching a point to speculate that, had it not been for the untimely death of his protector and the rise of prince Francesco de' Medici, who preferred Giambologna, Danti's name might well be a household word today.

The literature on late Renaissance Florence has posed more questions about the patronage of the Medici rulers than about the strategies of self-promotion enacted by the constellation of artists who served them.[5] Studies of the Medici dukes as patrons have characterized their art commissions as intentional messages about the identity of their family and of their rule. These studies about self-representation of the princes have shaped the contours of this dissertation.[6] Patterns of princely patronage naturally shaped

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[4] Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300-1600* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), 211.

[5] Important exceptions include Victoria C. Gardner Coates, " 'Ut vita scultura': Cellini's Perseus and the Self-Fashioning of Artistic Identity," in *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art, ed. Mary Rogers* (Brookfield and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 149-159; Margaret Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini: Sexuality, Masculinity, and Artistic Identity in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

[6] Henk Th. van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici and his Self-Representation in Florentine Art and Culture*

the conduct of courtiers and artists. Danti contributed objects to the piazzas and private studies of the Medici that reinforced the princes' political program of visual display. As a patron, Cosimo focused on different kinds of images and monuments than did his sons and successors, Francesco I and Ferdinando I (1549-1609). However, Danti's main patronage relationship was not a binary one; he did not pitch his skills and abilities directly to the dukes. A network of brokers worked as mediators of court patronage, facilitating the commissions Danti received from the Medici and also introducing him to the academies that supported the state cultural agenda. Danti worked to participate in activities that interested his brokers as well as the Medici rulers, and these social and professional ties shaped his success.

These interim levels of patronage in Florence often determined the success of artists seeking commissions from the court. Cosimo's secretaries, such as Lorenzo Pagni, and even members of the Florentine aristocracy, such as Bernardo Vecchietti, magnified their prince and his court through the introduction of talented young artists to the Duke's service. Bernardo Vecchietti housed the sculptor Giambologna and commissioned works from him for over a decade, while Lorenzo Pagni facilitated the career of his nephew, the architect Zanobi Pagni.[7] Recent studies also have illuminated Giorgio Vasari's oversight of court projects, his role in the founding of the Accademia del Disegno, his collaborations to produce the *Lives of the Artists*, and his efforts to elevate the

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(Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X, and the Two Cosimos* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

[7] For Vecchietti, see Michael Bury, "Bernardo Vecchietti, Patron of Giambologna," *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 1 (1985): 13-56; Michael Cole, "The Figura Sforzata: Modelling, Power, and the Mannerist Body," *Art History* 24 (2001): 526. For Pagni, see Louis A. Waldman, "Patronage, Lineage, and Self-Promotion in Maso di San Friano's Naples Double Portrait," *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 10 (2005): 161-170.

professional status of artists.[8] Vasari was the recipient of an outpouring of Medici patronage. The magnitude of the court projects he organized made him the primary arbiter of artistic success in Florence; he could make or break the careers of artists based on his distribution of court patronage. Vasari and a circle of courtiers and intellectuals including Sforza Almeni, Luca Martini, Benedetto Varchi, and Vincenzo Borghini supported the state program of *fiorentinismo* through the creation of visual and literary works. These servants to the Medici court were also involved in the foundation and administration of new Florentine academies. In 1563, Vasari and Borghini, with a small group of well-established court artists, founded the Accademia del Disegno in Florence, the first state academy for the visual arts.

Danti joined in the Accademia del Disegno in the year of its foundation and later also matriculated in the Accademia Fiorentina, the state literary academy. Several significant studies have helped to clarify the functions of the arts academy. Zymunt Waźbiński explored the didactic goals of the Accademia del Disegno in his monograph on its foundation and statutes.[9] Karen-edis Barzman has refined our understanding of its theoretical principles and demonstrated that the arts academy functioned as confraternal

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[8] See especially: Claudia Conforti, ed., *Vasari, Gli Uffizi, e il duca* (Florence: Giunti, 2011); Marco Ruffini, *Art without an Author: Vasari's Lives and Michelangelo's Death* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011); Cristina Acidini and Giacomo Pirazzoli, eds., *Ammannati e Vasari per la città dei Medici* (Florence: Polistampa, 2011). The collection of essays in *Vasari's Florence: Artists and Literati at the Medici Court*, ed. Philip Jacks, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), laid much of the methodological groundwork for these new approaches to Vasari studies. Marcia Hall also identified the professional collaboration of Vasari and Cosimo as central to our understanding of changes in patronage in the new Medici principate; Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta Maria Novella and Sta Croce, 1565-1577* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1979), 87: "In terms of social history the two decades of collaboration between Vasari and Cosimo are an important episode in the transfer of patronage from private to official sources. ...the initiative for patronage comes from the government in the person of Duke Cosimo, not primarily from the private citizen."

[9] Zygmunt Waźbińksi, *L'Accademia del Disegno a Firenze nel Cinquecento: Idea e istituzione*, 2 vols. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1987).

and pedagogical institution designed to promote the professional stature of artists. Through the collective participation of these artists, she argues, the academy itself was also "effective as a tool of Medici statecraft."[10] Danti's participation in it signaled his embracing of its professional goals, and he cultivated connections to his artist-peers. In addition to holding office within the organization, he produced a pedagogical text on human proportion, published in 1567, and helped organize the visual program of the academy's permanent meeting space in the church of the Santissima Annunziata.

Danti also joined the Accademia Fiorentina, the state literary academy founded in 1540 that promoted the use of vernacular Florentine in poetry and prose. Artists including Baccio Bandinelli, Agnolo Bronzino, Benvenuto Cellini, and Michelangelo all had matriculated in the Accademia Fiorentina during the 1540s. In 1547, the academy expelled its artist-members in a campaign to reinforce the rigorousness of its statutes.[11] In the 1565, Vincenzo Danti was one of the first artists admitted after nearly twenty years of their exclusion.[12] He was the very first non-Florentine artist ever admitted to its membership. Danti's social and professional ties, as well as his erudition and the fact that he was recognized as a poet, allowed him to participate in the literary activities of the court.

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[10] Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 19. On the arts as political, see also Barzman, 32: "promotion of the arts constitutes one of the distinguishing practices of sovereign states of any (known) political structure, and that the enhancement of nobility was reciprocal: as the arts were ennobled, so the prestige of the republics and empires that supported them increased."

[11] For a study of corporate bodies, lay and clerical, associated with Catholic spirituality in this era, and a discussion of kindship ties among members of these corporations, see Nicholas Terpstra, "Lay Spirituality," in the *Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Alexandra Bamji, Geert Janssen, and Mary Laven (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 269-272.

[12] Detlef Heikamp, "Rapporti fra accademici ed artisti nella Firenze del '500," *Il Vasari* 1 (1957): 140-141.

The literary and the arts academies were important components of a state program geared towards fulfilling the prince's political goals. This project approaches the academies and their members from a different starting point than that of autocratic control of cultural institutions. It explores participation as a mark of status and asks how those who wished to participate might be allowed to do so. Danti's activities in Florence indicate that even a non-Florentine artist might be welcomed to contribute to the program of Florentine aggrandizement.

ARTISTS AS COURTIERS: SELF-FASHIONING AND PROFESSIONALISM

Scholars of the literature and history of early modern Europe have posed questions about self-representation in relation to power that have shaped my approach to the professional persona Danti created in Florence. Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* examines what was often a dichotomy between a courtier's identity and his act of crafting a public face to appeal to the prince.[13] I use Greenblatt's questions about public self-representation to frame this project, but he did not address the intermediate strata of patronage relationships such as Danti encountered in Florence. Danti constructed his professional persona to ingratiate himself not only to the Medici princes but also to their servants and to his fellow artists. Models of court brokerage proposed by Sharon Kettering provide terminology for these social and professional relationships that promoted Danti's success in Florence.[14] In addition, Douglas Biow's

[13] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning, from More to Shakespeare*, rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 2005), 8-9.

[14] On brokerage, see Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Kettering, *Patronage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France* (Burlington, VT, and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); *Your Humble Servant: Agents in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Hans Cools, Marika Keblusek, and Badeloch Noldus (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006); and Janie Cole, "Cultural Clientelism and Brokerage Networks in Early Modern Florence and Rome: New Correspondence

studies of professionalism among court servants have shaped my approach to how Danti created a professional persona suited to his Florentine context.[15] Professional posturing and intentional difficulty had defined the reputations of Danti's predecessors Bandinelli, Cellini, and Michelangelo, but Cellini had witnessed his own commissions precipitously decline following his cantakerous behavior. Danti and the other artists of his generation rarely challenged the status quo, perhaps having learned a lesson from Cellini's example.[16] We have no records of Danti fomenting discord. Whether or not amenability led to commissions, Danti eventually completed larger and more prestigious projects for the court than Cellini ever had.

Art historians have produced recent studies about the individual sculptors and their construction of status. Kelley Helmstutler di Dio's work on Leone Leoni and Margaret Gallucci's studies of Cellini provide models for tracking how sculptors could enhance their reputations socially and professionally.[17] Michael Cole also has posed constructive questions about the relationship between the professional goals of sculptors

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between the Barberini and Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger" *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007): 729-788.

[15] Douglas Biow's *In Your Face* helpfully complicates Greenblatt's model of self-fashioning. For certain artists and literary figures in early modern Italy, disruptive behavior allowed them to shape professional personas associated with assertiveness and dissent. On professionalism, see Biow, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); and *In Your Face: Professional Improprieties and the Art of Being Conspicuous in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).

[16] On the discipline and productivity of the next generation, see Louis A. Waldman, "Bandinelli and the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore: Patronage, Privilege, and Pedagogy," in in *Santa Maria del Fiore: The Cathedral and its Sculpture*, ed. Margaret Haines (Fiesole: Edizioni Cadmo, 2001), 245.

[17] Margaret Gallucci described Cellini's literary output within the context of the Florentine court and Di Dio has demonstrated that Leoni, like Danti, relied on friendships to build his social standing in Renaissance Milan and in courts across Europe. Margaret Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini: sexuality, masculinity, and artistic identity in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Kelley Helmstutler di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist at the End of the Renaissance* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011).

and the formal qualities of the objects they produced in late Renaissance Florence. In his examination of the aspirations of these sculptors, Cole argued that expressions of their professional ambition were rooted in the context of court patronage, a concept that is also fundamental to this study.[18] Cole considered Danti in his study of late Renaissance sculptors, but the brokerage relationships Danti built with members of the court and the importance of his literary production were beyond the scope of his study.

Patronage studies have addressed the reasons rulers chose artists or the reasons artists sought court employment, yet the reciprocal relationship between the artist and court has yet to be fully teased out in the art historical literature.[19] Courtiers enhanced the reputation of the courts they served. Cosimo de' Medici actively worked to bring luminaries of science to Tuscan universities and to convince Michelangelo to return to Florence. Vasari and other courtiers had the pivotal job of promoting both famous artists and promising young talent to their prince. This study addresses how these brokerage relationships, the interim levels of power that facilitated an artist's rise to prominence and status, functioned for Danti. Integrating these brokerage relationships into discussions about artists' careers at the Medici court can clarify how these artists conducted their professional lives. Vincenzo Danti and his brother Egnazio, a mathematician, scientist, and Dominican friar who also served the Medici,[20] worked together to create professional opportunities for one another and maintain important brokerage relationships in Florence. For Vincenzo Danti, his relationships with powerful courtiers provided connections to the

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[18] Michael Cole, *Ambitious Form: Giambologna, Ammanati and Danti in Florence* (Princeton University Press, 2011), 10-12.

[19] For this kind of reciprocity, see Janie Cole, "Cultural Clientelism"; Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

[20] Egnazio was a friar at the convents of San Marco and Santa Maria Novella in Florence.

state academies, within which he could demonstrate his ability to enhance the reputation of the Medici court.

This study of Danti's work at the Medici court grows from Martin Warnke's foundational text *The Court Artist*, in which Warnke addressed the salary, status, title, and role of artists serving European courts from the late Middle Ages through the rise of the middle class in the nineteenth century.[21] Responding to Warnke, Stephen Campbell has emphasized more recently that courts were diverse in their size, hierarchical structure, location within or outside of cities, and their relationships to one another. The definition of a court artist, he has argued, is as amorphous as the definition of a court, but the artists who served these diverse courts played an important diplomatic role by providing physical evidence of the court's erudition. [22] Other courtiers regarded the position of the court artist as "a rather hybrid and incongruous social identity betokening the upstart and opportunist," a definition which could certainly apply to Danti's situation as a newcomer in Florence.[23] Indeed, Cellini chastised Danti for seeking prominent commissions and supplanting already-established sculptors who had a record of completing court projects.[24] Regardless of Cellini's barbs, Danti's accomplishments during his years in Florence helped him move beyond any implication that his talents could not support his aspirational identity.

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[21] Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist (Hofkünslter)*, trans. David McLintock. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[22] Stephen J. Campbell, "Introduction," in *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity, 1300-1550*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press in partnership with Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, 2004), 12-16.

[23] Campbell, "Introduction," 14.

[24] See poetry fragments by Cellini that condemn Danti's hubris, Chapter 1 and Mauro Scarabelli, "Il granchio e il grifone: Per l'interpretazione di due sonnetti e di un frammento di Benvenuto Cellini," *Letteratura & arte: rivista annuale* 7 (2009): 79-99. See Danti's sonnets to Cellini in Chapter 5.

Artistic professionalism in ducal Florence was shaped by two seemingly paradoxical efforts. The first was to create unity among artists and uniformity in their visual works, such as in the decoration of the Church of San Lorenzo for Michelangelo's funeral in 1564 or the adornment of Prince Francesco's private study in Palazzo Vecchio in 1571-1573. In these projects for the court, artists were encouraged to privilege stylistic coherence over individuality.[25] However, such collaborative projects also encouraged competition between artists. The second major effort that drove artistic production was the veneration and emulation of Florence's greatest local hero, Michelangelo.[26] Joanna Woods-Marsden has pointed to two corresponding modes of identity-construction for Renaissance artists, collective and individual.[27] Danti operated in both. He demonstrated his collective identity as a member of the academies and of Vasari's team of reliable sculptors. He simultaneously enacted his individual identity as a successful polymath, competent in Florentine visual and literary languages. Michelangelo had promoted his own exceptionalism as poet, architect, painter, and sculptor.[28] Even as the Academia del Disegno promoted collaboration and collective identity of artists, it also encouraged artists to excel in *disegno* across media, as Michelangelo had done. This dissertation

[25] Ruffini, *Art without an Author*; David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

[26] Ruffini, *Art without an Author*, 39-71; Elizabeth Pilliod, "The Influence of Michelangelo: Pontormo, Bronzino, and Allori," in *Reactions to the Master: Michaelangelo's Effect on Art and Artists in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis and Paul Johannides (Burlington and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 31-52.

[27] Joanna Woods-Marsden, "Introduction" in *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art*, ed. Mary Rogers (Aldershot and Brookfield: Ashgate, 2000), 1-15.

[28] Dictating his life to Ascanio Condivi, for instance; Ascanio Condivi, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, ed. Giovanni Nencioni with essays by Michael Hirst and Caroline Elam (Florence: SPES, 1998).

represents the first close study of how an individual artist successfully negotiated these dueling definitions of preferred professional conduct.

VINCENZO DANTI IN FLORENCE

As an artist in service to the Medici principate, Danti worked as a maker of objects and the study of these objects has dominated most previous scholarship about him.[29] In addition to his intellectual contributions to the court as a member of the academies, Danti created prominent sculptures that adorn two centers of Florentine life. He completed original facade sculptures for the newly constructed Uffizi, the administrative heart of the Medici court. He also cast the final group of over-door bronze sculptures for the Baptistery, the town's religious epicenter. During his sixteen years in Florence, Danti created ten extant sculptures that can be directly tied to patronage of the Medici court and six more that are still housed in Florentine collections.[30] As did Giambologna, Vincenzo de' Rossi, and Bartolomeo Ammanati, Danti worked in a range of sculpture types, from public marble commissions to small bronzes, competing with his colleagues in demonstrating his virtuosity across those genres.[31] To varying degrees, these same men also performed their professionalism according to new expectations of

[29] See catalog sections of Giovan Battista Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti scultore, 1530-1576* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1996); Francesco Santi, *Vincenzo Danti scultore (1530-1576)* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editore, 1989); J. David Summers, "The Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti: A Study in the Influence of Michelangelo and the Ideals of the Maniera," Ph.D. diss, Yale University, 1969; Charles Davis and Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi, eds., *I grandi bronzi del Battistero: L'arte di Vincenzo Danti, discepolo di Michelangelo* (Florence: Giunti, 2008).

[30] Five others are in Perugia, one in Milan, one in Paris, one in Vienna, and two are housed in collections in the United States. Two objects in London have been attributed to Danti, and several of his sculptures have been lost or destroyed.

[31] Michael Cole, *Ambitious Form*.

artists, which privileged the practice of architecture and the production of art theory. With his peers Giambologna, Vincenzo de' Rossi, and Bartolomeo Ammannati, Danti was a practicing architect, but he was unique among this group in his publication of a text on art theory, his *First Book of the Treatise on Perfect Proportions* of 1567. When he returned to Perugia in 1573, he was appointed architect of the city. As both a published author of a treatise on art and as a practicing architect, Danti's achievement can be considered quite unusual; indeed, Vasari was the only one of his Florentine peers who achieved both those things.

Part of what prepared Danti for his unique accomplishments was his background. Born into an accomplished family of theoreticians and artists, Vincenzo and his two younger brothers, Egnazio (1536–1586) and Girolamo (c. 1547–1580), were all practicing artists. Egnazio created maps to adorn the walls of Cosimo's *guardaroba* in the Palazzo Vecchio, and later designed the enormous Gallery of the Maps in the Vatican Palace in Rome.[32] Girolamo ran a painting workshop in Perugia.[33] In addition to their education in astronomy, mathematics and design under the guidance of their aunt Teodora,[34] the brothers also trained in the workshop of their father, the goldsmith and

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[32] Iodoco del Badia, *Egnazio Danti, cosmografo e matematico: le sue opere in Firenze* (Florence: M. Cellini, 1881); Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Mark Rosen, "A New Chronology of the Construction and Restoration of the Medici Guardaroba in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes* 53 (2009): 285-308; Mark Rosen, "Charismatic Cosmography in Late Cinquecento Florence," *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* 59, n. 163 (2009): 575-590; Thomas B. Settle, "Egnazio Danti and mathematical education in late sixteenth-century Florence," in *New Perspectives on Renaissance Thought,* ed. John Henry and Sarah Hutton (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1990): 24-37.

[33] Giovanna Sapori, "Perugia 1565-75: Girolamo Danti," *Bolletino d'arte* 2 (1981): 1-12; and "Artisti e committenti sul lago Trasimeno," *Paragone* 33 (1982): 27-62.

[34] Giovanni Sacrobosco, *La sfera di Messer Giovanni Sacrobosco, tradotta emendata & distinta in capitoli da Piervincentio Dante de Rinaldi con molte et utili annotazioni del medesimo. rivista da frate Egnatio Danti* (Florence: Giunti, 1571), unpaginated.

architect Giulio Danti.[35] Vincenzo's first major commission was an over life-size bronze statue of Pope Julius III, created in partnership with Giulio's workshop.[36] The brothers were active members of the academies of art in both Florence and Perugia, and were probably instrumental in founding the Perugian Accademia del Disegno.[37] During his years in Florence, Vincenzo returned to Perugia with some frequency to work as an architect. Among other projects, he repaired the main Perugian aqueduct, which restored water to Nicola Pisano's Fontana Maggiore.[38] His opportunities to achieve fame as a sculptor were limited in Perugia, as it had no local court and was subject to the rule of Rome. Patricia Rubin has noted that late Renaissance artists from smaller cities

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[35] Francesco Federico Mancini, "Vincenzo Perugino," in *I Grandi Bronzi del Battistero*, 37-43; Giovan Battista Fidanza, "Vincenzo Danti Architetto," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 41 (1997), 392; del Badia, *Egnazio Danti*, 2-3. The brothers' education would have been even more interdisciplinary and adventurous if they also learned from their uncle, the Giovan Battista Danti. Oldoini and Pascoli both wrote that Giovan Battista had constructed a flying machine that carried him partway across Lake Trasimeno, but Pascoli implies some doubt about this event. Augustino Oldoini, *Athenaeum Augustum* (Perugia: Laurentii Ciani and Francisci Desideri, 1678), 168-169; Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni* (v. 1, 1730, v. 2, 1736; repr. Rome: E. Calzone, 1933), 296-298; Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti perugini* (1732; repr. Amsterdam: Boekhandel & Antiquariaat B. M. Israel N. V., 1965), 56-59.

[36] For the father and son's shared roles in this commission, see Alessandro Nova, "La Statua di Giulio III a Perugia," in in *I Grandi Bronzi del Battistero*, 68; Mancini, "Vincenzo Perugino," 41-43; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 23-24, claims that Giulio "probably did no more than act as a legal standin [sic] for Vincenzo."

[37] Vincenzo and Girolamo were both members of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno, see Luigi Zangheri, ed., *Gli Accademici del Disegno: Elenco alfabetico* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2000), 100. Egnazio's membership dates are unknown, but scholars agree he was closely associated with the Florentine academy, see Charles Dempsey, "Some observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna during the Later Sixteenth Century," *Art Bulletin* 62, n. 4 (1980): 556-557; Dempsey compiled the sources on Vincenzo and Egnazio's role in the foundation of the Perugian academy, 557, n. 37. See also Karen-edis Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist," *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 5-6 (1986-1987): 16-17; Barzman, *Florentine Academy,* 152-153; Settle, "Egnazio Danti," 27-28. Sapori, "Danti, Girolamo," 663, asserts that Girolamo was also certainly a member of that academy, given his 1578 donation of a family workshop space to the academy for use as its seat and his roles that year as prior and chamberlain of the institution,.

[38] Mancini, "Vincenzo Perugino," 50-54; Fidanza, "Vincenzo Danti architetto," 392-405.

frequently moved to Rome and Florence in order to secure major commissions that would bring financial stability and lasting fame.[39]

Around the time Danti first moved to Florence, many of the artists who had dominated court commissions in the 1540s and 1550s were either falling from favor, as Vasari rose to power, or were actually dying.[40] Agnolo Bronzino and Baccio Bandinelli had been the overwhelmingly favored artists in those earlier decades, functionally serving as court painter and court sculptor, if not actually appointed with these exclusive titles. When Vasari rose to power in the mid-1550s, he began to assemble a new corps of favored artists, and he distributed commissions among a larger number of them.[41] He wrote to Cosimo:

> The idea I have is this: having in mind the role of those sculptors who are occupied in the service of your Excellency, to give something to do to each of them, and to give encouragement and opportunity to some of those young men who have both the desire to execute and the talent to carry right through their conceptions.[42]

In Florence, Danti had the opportunity for court salary, professional status, and visibility of sculpture commissions in a town with a long tradition of eminent and famous

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[39] Patricia Lee Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 45, described a similar "scarcity of significant opportunities" for Vasari in his hometown of Arezzo.

[40] Tribolo, d. 1550; Giovanni Battista del Tasso, d. 1555; Pontormo, d. 1557; Baccio Bandinelli, d. 1560. Fallen from court favor or receiving fewer commissions: Cellini, Bronzino. On this transition, Elizabeth Pilliod, "Representation, Mis-representation and Non-Representation," in *Vasari's Florence: Artists and Literati at the Medicean Court*, ed. Philip Jacks (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 30-52.

[41] For an overview of workshops consolidated and overseen by the Medici dukes, see Luca Molà, "States and crafts: relocating technical skills in Renaissance Italy," in *The Material Renaissance*, ed. Michelle O'Malley and Evelyn Welch (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press distributed by Palgrave, 2007), 139-140, 144-145.

[42] Cited in John Pope-Hennessy, *Cellini* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1985), 282. Pope-Hennessy notes that "the fruit of this unenlightened trade unionism can be seen all over Florence today."

sculptors. I argue that Danti came to Florence seeking these rewards and participated in court culture to indicate his readiness to rise to singular prominence as the favorite sculptor. As Bandinelli and Bronzino before him had joined the Accademia Fiorentina, so did Danti. As Michelangelo, Bandinelli, and Pontormo had famously performed anatomical dissection to understand the forms of the human body, so, too, did Danti. However, while following the examples of these previous Medici artists, Danti faced the additional challenge of being neither born nor trained in Florence. His identity as a non-Florentine separated him in language and in training from the native artists with whom he collaborated and competed.

Danti was one of a number of non-Florentine artists who served Cosimo and Francesco and who joined the Accademia del Disegno. As such, he could be considered part of a cohort or even representative of the favoritism for non-Florentines at court. Cosimo himself demonstrated a preference for secretaries and advisors who came from beyond Florence.[43] Vasari may have intended to create similar loyalty and eliminate factionalism by recruiting artists from elsewhere. In the decoration of the ducal apartments in Palazzo Vecchio, fewer than half of the contributing artists were Florentine.[44] We know very little about their collective or individual experience of these

[43] R. Burr Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy: The Florentine Patricians 1530-1790* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 27-29 and 48-50; and Giorgio Spini, *Cosimo I e l'indipendenza del principato mediceo* (Florence: Vellecchi, 1980), 144-145.

[44] Ettore Allegri and Alessandro Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e i Medici: Guida storica* (Florence: S.P.E.S., 1980), 63-230. Documents that describe the redecoration of the ducal apartments list the Florentine artists Antonio Lorenzi (Settignano), Santi Buglioni, Bernardo di Antonio di Mona Mattea, and Simone d'Antonio del Coltrice (Vincigliata). Non-Florentine artists included Marco Marchetti da Faenza (Faenza), Cristofano Gherardi (Borgo San Sepolcro), Hendrick van den Broeck (Mechelen), Wouter Crabeth (Gouda), Jan van der Straet (Bruges), Leonardo Ricciarelli (Volterra), Giovanni di Tommaso Boscoli (Montepulciano), Alfonso Lombardi (Ferrara), and Vincenzo Danti. The geographic origins of other contributors, including Mariotto di Francesco, Francesco di Gerardo Mecini, and Bartolomeo di Jacopo di Bartolomeo, are unknown.

artists, as most of the artists who served the Medici in the late cinquecento remain nearly anonymous. Scholarship has presented the non-Florentine artists at the Medici court who did attain fame, such as Jan van der Straet (Giovanni Stradano), Giambologna, and Vasari, as individuals rather than consider their shared experience of relocating to the Medici capital.[45] Even though scholarship has not yet explored these specific questions, Danti's career enables us to trace some patterns of how a non-Florentine might comport himself in the Tuscan capital. Unlike Danti, Van der Straet and Giambologna both continued to work in Florence for Francesco I, following the deaths of Vasari and Cosimo. All were members of the Accademia del Disegno. To ascertain whether Danti's work to construct a brokerage network beyond this academy and to convey his facility with local vernacular language were typical pursuits for non-Florentines requires closer studies of other artists' efforts to shape their local careers.[46]

[45] For Van der Straet and Giambologna, in particular, studies tend to focus on their retension of stylistic traits from their training in Northern Europe rather than on their efforts to operate in a Florentine mode. See Sabine Eiche, ed., *Giambologna tra Firenze e l'Europa: atti del convegno internazionale, Firenze* (Florence: Centro Di, 2000); Lucia Meoni, "The Medici Tapestry Works and Johannes Stradanus as Cartoonist," in *Stradanus, 1523-1605: Court Artist of the Medici*, ed. Manfred Sellink and Till-Holger Borchert (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2012), 31-58; Alessandra Baroni, "A Flemish Artist at the Medici Court in Florence in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century: Life, Works, and Modus Operandi of the Painter-Cartoonish Johannes Stradanus," in *Stradanus*, 59-107.

[46] Louis A. Waldman, "Commissioning Art in Florence for Matthias Corvinus: The Painter and Agent Alexander Formoser and his Sons, Jacopo and Raffaello del Tedesco," in *Italy and Hungary: Humanism and Art in the Early Renaissance*, Villa I Tatti Studies 27, ed. Péter Farbaky and Louis A. Waldman Florence: Villa I Tatti, 2011), 457-494, describes a German family's negotiation of the Florentine artistic networks in an earlier era, between 1490 and the 1520s. Rebecca Zorach, in *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 38-43 and 140-158, and in "The French Renaissance: An Unfinished Project" in *Artists at Court*, 188-199, has described Rosso Fiorentino and Benvenuto Cellini's participation in projects that required stylistic collaboration at the French Court. Kelley Helmstutler di Dio described Leone Leoni's efforts to participate in the literary circles of Hapsburg Milan, *Leone Leoni*, 46-62.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

This project comprises five separate but intertwined approaches to Danti's career in Florence. Each chapter explores an aspect of his aspirational identity and his efforts to participate fully in the social, intellectual, and professional networks that dominated Medici court culture. The first three chapters examine Danti's work as a sculptor. Chapter One describes his first years in Florence and the brokerage network that facilitated his success. Despite initial failure in his first bronze commission for Duke Cosimo, the *Hercules and Antaeus* fountain group, Danti's marble sculpture of *Honor Conquering Deceit* not only showcased his competence in marble but also introduced him to the circle of courtiers surrounding Sforza Almeni, one of Cosimo's closest advisors. In *Honor Conquering Deceit*, Danti showcased his ability to produce an object that drew from Florentine precedents. He borrowed stylistic elements from the sculptures of Michelangelo, Bandinelli, and Cellini to produce a two-figure triumph group, a form privileged in Florence for its ability to demonstrate the skill of a sculptor.

Chapter Two investigates Danti's unique relationship with Vasari, who promoted Danti's career as broker, overseer, and collaborator. Danti produced almost every object that he made for the Medici by way of his connection with Vasari. For this reason, Chapter Two discusses more individual sculpture commissions than any other chapter. Vasari consistently chose Danti for court commissions, both for individual and group projects. Artists performed slightly differently in each of these categories and so I investigate Danti's work on individual and group commissions separately in order to assess how his work with Vasari on each project worked to the professional advantage of both participants.

Chapter Three addresses just one of the joint projects on which Danti worked with Vasari: the commission to adorn the exterior of the new Uffizi building with sculpture. In

the sheer number of objects and in the prominence of their placement, this program represents the largest commission that Danti received in Florence. Between 1564 and 1569, he produced five marble sculptures for the building and received commissions for another two. A close reading of the documents that chronicle the planning and execution of the building helps to locate these sculptures in the logistical operations of the new ducal administrative network. This documentary approach clarifies some of the field's assumptions about the program planned for the building by suggesting that Danti's figure of *Augustus*, now in the Bargello, functioned emblematically on the building and was not intended as a portrait of the duke.

Chapters Four and Five address Danti's non-sculptural creations for the Medici court: his poems and his *Treatise on Perfect Proportions*. Danti created these works within the context of the intellectual circles at court to indicate his readiness to contribute to the program of *fiorentinismo* promoted by the Medici and their academies. Chapter Four presents Danti's poetic works as indicative of his desire to participate in the Accademia Fiorentina, which promoted Tuscan vernacular language in prose and poetry. He composed sonnets addressed to several members of the Florentine court that are evaluated here for the first time. He also wrote a satirical poem on the dangers of alchemy, one of the pet projects of the Medici princes.

The final chapter investigates the claim Danti made in the introduction to his *Treatise on Perfect Proportions*—that he had completed eighty-three anatomical dissections. An emphasis on anatomical study was particular to Florentine artists. Witnessing an annual anatomy demonstration at the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova was required of all members of the Accademia del Disegno. In addition to placing him solidly in Florentine artistic practice, Danti's experience conducting anatomies also reinforced his effort to cultivate the kind of polymath professional persona that had made

Michelangelo so exceptional. This chapter embeds Danti within his Florentine context, yet no other artist in Florence published a treatise on anatomy or human proportion during the reign of Duke Cosimo I, whose own interests in scientific innovation drove a fervor for anatomy practice in the universities of Tuscany. Through his texts and objects, Danti contributioned to a state cultural program that was locally rooted. This project maps his navigation of the intellectual, social, and political networks that promoted and complicated his participation in court culture.[47] Danti's Florentine career presents new ways to approach these larger issues of the relationship between artists and the courts they served.

Danti's ultimate goal of becoming the most favored sculptor of the Medici dukes did not come to pass, but the experience he gained and the persona he established in Florence prepared him to take on a defining administrative role in his hometown of Perugia. As Prince Francesco assumed more control over Medici court commissions in the late 1560s and early 1570s, he demonstrated a clear favor for Giambologna in his commissions. Giambologna's workshop would dominate the production of sculpture in Florence for the next two decades, while Danti returned to Perugia in 1573. Danti was appointed city architect, and he and his brother Girolamo were instrumental in founding the Accademia del Disegno there. Vincenzo Danti died just three years later.

Throughout his time at the Medici court, Danti regularly worked with others. He eventually directed the work of subordinate artists in the decoration of the meeting space of the Accademia del Disegno. Documentation of his work on a replacement tomb slab, made for Vasari as part of the renovations of the church of Santa Maria Novella, also

[47] Not all of Danti's Florentine commissions fall within this framework, including two of his largest marble sculptures, a Madonna and Child that is now in the Baroncelli Chapel in the church of Santa Croce and a Venus with two Cupids in the Casa Buonarroti. No known documents can link these commissions to the court.

indicates that Danti had a regular assistant, a *garzone*, by 1571.[48] Collaboration was critical to success in a capital city with such emphasis on corporate acadamies and a growing administrative structure. Danti's multidisciplinary activities demonstrate what he believed would secure him exceptional status as a favorite artist of the Medici princes. He did gain professional status in Florence, producing uniquely prominent public sculpture for the Uffizi and the Baptistery as well as becoming a published author. The professional persona that Danti crafted, with the help of his network of brokers, helped him to secure these commissions. A close examination of his work on court projects, and his connections to other Medici servants, illuminates both the career of this prominent sculptor and the complex mechanisms of professional advancement in late Renaissance Florence.

[48] Alessandro Cecchi, "Vasari e Rossellino: Un progetto per la sistemazione della tomba della Beata Villana in Santa Maria Novella," *Antichità viva* 24 (1985): 127 n8, cites ASF, Conventi Soppressi 102, Appendice f. 33, Entrata e Uscita. 1561-1580, cc. 141r-148r.

Chapter 1: Negotiating Networks through Brokerage: Danti's early Florentine career

Ercol sospese Anteo, poi 'l gittò via,
Perché il ladron rubava vacchi e buoi.
Molto più bravo è questo, or che è fra noi,
Che ha tre volte ambeduoi gittati via.

Sforzommi quel da l'alta impresa mia
Tirarmi indietro, e a lui rimase i buoi,
Le vacche al Bandinello e i servi suoi,
Prese un Granchio il Grifone, e 'l gittò via.

(Hercules lifted up Antaeus, then threw him away
Because the thief stole cows and oxen.
Much better is this one now among us,
Who has three times thrown them away.

He forced me to turn away
From my own lofty undertaking, and to him remained the oxen
The cows to Bandinelli and his servants,
The Gryphon took a Crab, and threw it away.)

Benvenuto Cellini (undated)[49]

These verses by Cellini criticize Vincenzo Danti's first ducal commission in Florence, a bronze sculpture group of *Hercules and Antaeus*.[50] According to Vasari, the

[49] Benvenuto Cellini, *Opere* ed. Bruno Maier (Milan: Rizzoli, 1968), 929-930, n. 109; and Benvenuto Cellini, *Rime*, ed. Vittorio Gatto (Rome: Archivio Guido Izzi), 201, n. 139. Translation author's own, with assistance from Diletta Gamberini and Louis A. Waldman. See also Mauro Scarabelli, "Il granchio e il grifone: per l'interpretazione di due sonnetti e di un frammento di Benvenuto Cellini," *Letteratura & arte: rivista annuale* 7 (2009): 79-99. Scarabelli connected this fragment, one other (Cellini-Gatto, *Rime*, 154-155, n. 101), and a completed sonnet (Cellini-Gatto, *Rime*, 74, n. 49). All three examples focus on a failed casting of a *Hercules* statue, which Scarabelli identified as Danti's *Hercules and Antaeus* fountain group for Villa Castello. Scarabelli used the events described in these fragments to discuss Cellini's jealousy of Danti at the time of the Perugian's arrival and around Bandinelli's death. Summers and Pizzorusso also connected this poem by Cellini with Danti; see David Summers, "The Chronology of Vincenzo Danti's First Works in Florence," *Mitteilungen des Kunstistorichen Institutes* 16 (1972): 185-188; Claudio Pizzorusso, "Indagine su uno scultore al di sopra di ogni sospetto," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero: L'arte di Vincenzo Danti, discepolo di Michelangelo*, ed. Charles Davis and Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi (Florence: Giunti, 2008), 160-161, nn49 and 139.

Hercules sculpture group was commissioned from Danti as soon as he arrived in Florence, and it was intended for a fountain at the Medici villa at Castello.[51] Its casting failed three times and no remnant or model of the sculpture survives. In this poetry fragment, Cellini pointedly reminded his reader that after those three castings (*gittari*) the entire project was "thrown away" (*gittato*).[52] As such derisive verse makes clear, Danti was subject to and participated in the professional competition that permeated the Florentine network of ducal artists, even as a newly arrived outsider to that network.[53] The fragments of Cellini's poetry emphasize that a talented young non-Florentine represented a threat to the practicing artists in Florence, and they exemplify the climate of scrutiny in which these artists worked.

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[50] *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi [hereafter Vasari-Milanesi] (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1906; repr. Florence: Sansoni, 1973), 7:630-631. Timoteo Bottonio, a Dominican in Florence, also composed verse about this failed casting process and Danti replied with his own poem. Both poems were published by Julius von Schlosser, "Aus der Bildnerwerkstatt der Renaissance. Fragmente zur Geschichte der Renaissanceplastik," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 31 (1913-14): 78-79. See also J. David Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," (PhD diss, Yale University, 1969), 66-67, 450-451; Francesco Santi, *Vincenzo Danti scultore (1530-1576)* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editore, 1989), 19, 44-45; Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti, 1530-1576* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1996), 55, 78-80; Summers, "Chronology," 185. Summers also published documents for the armature for the *Hercules and Anteus* group in that article, 195, after ASF Fabbriche Medicee, 1556-1558, f. 140r.

[51] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:631. Danti's version was likely based on the model by Tribolo, for which see Mirella Branca, "Ercole e Anteo," in *L'acqua, la pietra, il fuoco: Bartolomeo Ammannati scultore*, ed. Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi and Dimitrios Zikos (Florence: Giunti, 2011), 382; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 450; Michael Cole, *Ambitious Form, Giambologna, Ammanati, and Danti in Florence* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 51-52.

[52] Scarabelli, "Il granchio e il grifone," 85 and 90, for readings of the verb *gittare* in terms of both bronze technique and disposal.

[53] For competition in late Renaissance Florence, see Cole, *Ambitious Form*, 10-14; Elizabeth Pilliod, "Representation, Mis-Representation, Non-Representation: Vasari and His Competitors" in *Vasari's Florence: Artists and Literati at the Medicean Court* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 42-50; James Clifton, "Vasari on Competition," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 27 (1996): 25-30, 37-41.

Cellini's pun-riddled verses decry and mock not only Danti and his first and most important professional failure in Florence (also what Cellini is most identified with: his techinical incompetency) but also other prominent personalities in his network. These were the two primary brokers of Danti's career: Baccio Bandinelli, "il Bandinello," and Sforza Almeni, the Perugian cupbearer to Duke Cosimo whose name appears in the playful verb "sforzommi" ("he forced me").[54] These men who facilitated Danti's career had both held powerful positions in the Medici administration. As Danti drew on their support to establish his profesional reputation at court and to obtain major commissions, he worked to negotiate an intricate web of allegiances. Those allegiances were essential stepping stones in Danti's quest to obtain prominent and lucrative patronage at the Medici court, even as an outsider to the Florentine scene.

Danti avoided several potential pitfalls along the path to ducal patronage thanks to his relationships with these allies at court. In addition to the failed casting of the *Hercules* group, his most powerful advocates, Almeni and Bandinelli, engaged in a rancorous land dispute. Almeni claimed the use of a fountain on their adjacent properties in Fiesole, enfuriating Bandinelli, who took his complaints about Almeni's claim directly to the duke. The dispute erupted just as Danti was hoping to cement his place as an artist-client to the Medici court through his connections to both men. These circumstances could have been setbacks for Danti, yet he used his ties to Almeni, Vasari, and Bandinelli and his technical skills as a sculptor to establish his professional persona. His own agency in crafting his Florentine career is evident in the commissions he completed, especially a marble sculpture carved for Sforza Almeni, *Honor Conquering Deceit*. Danti

[54] Although Summers, Scarabelli, and Pizzorusso noted that the fragment calls attention to the connection between Danti and Bandinelli, all overlooked Cellini's reference to Almeni. See Summers, "Chronology," 185-198; Scarabelli, "Il granchio e il grifone," 179-199; Pizzorusso, "Indagine su uno scultore," 149-163.

demonstrated his ability to work in a town with such a long tradition of famous sculptors. Even within a few short years of his arrival, members of the Medici court would come to describe Vincenzo Danti as a prominent and promising young artist.

DANTI'S PREPARATION FOR COURT PATRONAGE

Danti's literacy, erudition, and training made him an excellent candidate for court service. In 1571, Vincenzo's brother Egnazio Danti published a commentary that their grandfather, Piervincenzo Danti, had written on Johannes de Sacrobosco's astronomical treatise on the sphere. In Egnazio's introduction to the text, he described the brothers' interdisciplinary education under the tutelage of their aunt Teodora.[55] Vincenzo also trained in the goldsmithing workshop run by his father, Giulio Danti, in Perugia, as well as in the workshop of Panfilio Marchesi in Rome. In these settings, Vincenzo accrued experience in casting and chasing, and his training in these two cities enabled him to build a network of professional connections. In 1554, the priors of Perugia commissioned Vincenzo and his father Giulio to cast a monumental bronze statue in honor of Pope Julius III (Fig. 1).[56] Alessandro Nova attributed the model and design to Vincenzo and the casting to the more experienced Giulio and his workshop.[57] While the contract for the statue of 1553 lists both Giulio and Vincenzo, requests for materials and subsequent

[55] Egnazio Danti, *La Sfera di Messer Giovanni Sacrobosco Tradotta emendata & distinta in Capitoli da Piervincentio Dante de Rinaldi con molte e utili Annotazioni del Medesimo, Rivista da Frate Egnatio Danti* (Florence: Giunti, 1571), unmarked f. 3v.

[56] Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti, 1530-1576*, 49-53; A. Rossi, "Documenti intorno alla statua di Giulio III, gettata di Vincenzo Danti Perugino," *Giornale di erudizione artistica* 1 (1872): 17. For Theodora Danti, see Lione Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti perugini*, 75-79; Walter Bombe, "Danti, Teodora," in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1913), 8:383-384.

[57] Nova, "La statua di Giulio III a Perugia," 68.

payment records in 1555 name only Vincenzo.[58] The patrons of this statue, the priors of Perugia, seem to have attributed the design and execution of the final project to Vincenzo. Thus, by the mid-1550s, it appears that this young sculptor was already considered the head of the family workshop, and completed a major commission. These accomplishments would make him a valuable addition to the corps of sculptors at any Italian court.[59]

Vincenzo also worked for the two most powerful patrons in Perugia: the priors of the city and the Della Corgna family. The patrician Della Corgna family had returned to power in Perugia during the mid-*cinquecento* thanks to their connection, by marriage, to Pope Julius III.[60] Upon his election in 1550, Julius III granted these family members the rule of a new state within the papal territories, Castiglione del Lago, which combined several smaller pieces of land adjacent to Perugia.[61] Ascanio della Corgna, the pope's nephew and a successful *condottiere*, commissioned a new decorative program for the family's chapel in the Perugian church of San Francesco al Prato in 1555. Vignola

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[58] Mancini, "Vincenzo Perugino," 37-43; A. Rossi, "Documenti intorno alla statua di Giulio III," 16-24. Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 23-24. The current pedestal names only Vincenzo. It is an early nineteenth-century replacement and the original is lost, although Pascoli recorded the original inscription: "Vincentius Dantes Perusinus adhuc puber faciebat;" see Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti perugini*, 138.

[59] For the distribution of commissions based on the perceived status of previous commissions, see see Michelle O'Malley, "Finding Fame: Painting and the Making of Careers in Renaissance Italy," in *Re-thinking Renaissance Objects: Design, Function and Meaning*, Renaissance Studies special issue, ed. Peta Motture and Michelle O'Malley (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 23-26, 32; Anabel Thomas, "The Workshop as the Space of Collaborative Artistic Production," in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. Roger Crum and John T. Paoletti (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 421-424.

[60] Giovanna Sapori, "Artisti e committenti sul lago Trasimeno," *Paragone* 33 (1982): 29. Francesco della Corgna married Giacoma del Monte, the sister of Giovanni Maria del Monte who was subsequently elected Pope in 1550.

[61] Ibid., 29; C. F. Black, "Perugia and Papal Absolutism in the Sixteenth Century," *English Historical Review* 96 (1981): 513-514.

designed the architecture and Giovanni Battista Ingoni decorated the chapel with frescoes.[62] Vincenzo Danti created statues for the chapel, but these were lost when the church was dismantled after an earthquake in the eighteenth century.[63] Giovanna Sapori has described the patronage of the Della Corgna as characteristic of social climbers; they sought to attract prestigious artists from outside of Perugia to their new architectural and decorative projects in the city.[64] Regardless of the connections of the Della Corgna, papal oversight and taxation of the city and province led to little stability in either politics or artistic patronage in mid-century Perugia.[65] Before he was twenty-five years old, Danti had already worked on the two largest commissions in his hometown.

In the late 1550s, with Michelangelo's permanent residence in Rome, Tribolo's recent death, Cellini's increasing run-ins with the legal system, and Bandinelli's reputation as a procrastinating, irascible old codger, the court at Florence could offer the opportunity for both work and fame to talented young sculptors such as Danti. Duke Cosimo's connections to Danti's Perugian patrons Pope Julius III and Ascanio della Corgna may have been additional incentive for Danti to seek work at the Medici court.[66]

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[62] For Vignola and the patronage of the della Corgna, see Francesca Riccio, "Vignola a Perugia, Assisi e al lago Trasimeno: la committenza e la concorrenza," in *Le fabbriche di Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola: I restauri e le trasformazioni* (Milan: Electa, 2002), 38-45.

[63] Sapori, "Artisti e committenti sul lago Trasimeno," 30-35.

[64] Ibid., 52, describes their patronage of art projects as "una tenace operazione di *climbing*" (a difficult process of "climbing").

[65] Giovanni Cecchini, *L'Accademia di Belle Arti di Perugia* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1955), 18-19; Black, "Perugia and Papal Absolutism," 510-515, 533-539.

[66] Sapori, "Artisti e committenti," 29, 31, 55.

DANTI'S MOVE TO FLORENCE

The first evidence that Danti had relocated to Florence appears in a letter from his father Giulio to Vincenzo's former master, Panfilio Marchesi. "He has gone to Florence to do some things for the duke…and he never writes," Giulio complained on 5 August 1557.[67] Giulio's letter implies that Vincenzo had been gone for some weeks, since Giulio stated he was waiting to hear from his son.[68] Although the letter mentions no specific arrival date, Vincenzo's name appeared in the rolls of salaried servants to the ducal court in the same year, 1557.[69] These payment rolls include the names of those paid regularly by the court, including falconers, secretaries, historians, ambassadors, and cleaning staff. The documents also sporadically list monthly or annual stipends.[70] Danti's name appeared on two such lists in 1557, one a transcribed list of "Salariati" and the other a register of "Debitori e Creditori," in which he appears in a section dedicated to "i Salariati della Corte" ("persons salaried by the court.")[71] Unfortunately, these documents

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[67] Antonino Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi a Roma nei secoli xv, xvi e xvii: Studi e recherché negli archivi romani* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli Libraio-Editore, 1881), 1:309-310.

[68] Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi*, 1:310.

[69] ASF Manoscritti 321, 116.

[70] ASF Manoscritti 321. The frontispiece of this volume titles the collection: ARROTOLATI DELLA CORTE DI TOSCANA DAL 1540 SINO AL PRESENTE E STRATTI DA VARI LIBRI DELLA SEREN.MA: CASA. The extant documentation of these salary rolls is second-hand since the manuscript that preserves these lists dates from the seventeenth-century, when it was compiled from other volumes now lost. This compilation is therefore a filtered and problematic source, especially when one would like to draw conclusions about the court based on what names are included or omitted. The latest material included is dated 1692, during the reign of Grand Duke Cosimo III. For any given year, the amount of detail in this volume varies and the manuscript does not specify whether this variation was due to the depth of detail in the original documentation or the concerted attention of the transcriber on that day. At the beginning of each list of names is the title of the source from which the list came. The frontispiece specifies that the contents include transcriptions of the rolls of salaried court servants from all previous years of the duchy, back to 1540, and individual entries specify that they are "extracts" from the original documents.

[71] ASF Manoscritti 321, 116, Danti appears in "Ruolo di Salariati seg.^{to} H dell'Ill.^{mo} et Ecc.^{mo} Sr. Duca Cosimo del 1557 che si conserva nell'Archivio del Monte delle Graticole," together with philosophers and other *camerieri*: "Vincenzio Danti Perugino Scultore __", [*sic*: no payment amount listed]; and 130, under

list only his name, and they include neither a transcription of the amount he was paid in 1557 nor clarification about whether he received a monthly or annual stipend.

Danti's name appears twice more in the "Salariati" lists within these transcribed rolls of court employees. In 1558, he appeared in a list of salaried employees of the court amidst cameo carvers and painters, with Baccio Bandinelli as the only other listed sculptor.[72] Benvenuto Cellini and Bartolomeo Ammannati were absent from both the 1557 and 1558 lists, although they had both appeared in these rolls previously.[73] If these lists document privilege and ducal patronage, Danti was particularly favored in his first years in Florence. In 1559, his name appeared again with the specification that fifty florins were to be paid to him "for the materials for the *Hercules and Antaeus*."[74] Other documents describe the iron wire Danti had purchased to build the armature for the two figures back in October 1558.[75] Although reimbursement payments could stretch over

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"Libro Debitori e Creditori seg.to G dell'Ecc.mo Sr. Duca Cosimo, che si conserva nell'Archivio del Monte delle Graticole:" "Vincenzio Danti Perugino Scultore," no payment amount, no other artists listed.

[72] ASF Manoscritti 321, 136: "Ruolo de Salariati seg.to I del 1558 dell'Ill.mo & Ecc.mo S.r Duca Cosimo che si conserva nell'Archivio del Monte delle Graticole": "Vincenzio Danti Perugino scultore." Others on this list: 135, "Sforza Almeni Coppiere f 18__ il mese," f. 134; "Agnolo di Cosimo detto Bronzino pittore f 150__ l'anno" and "M Bartolommeo Bandinelli Statuario f 200__ l'anno;" 136, "Gio. Antonio de Rossi da Milano Intagliatore da Cammei f 200__l'an." Danti is listed without either a monthly or annual salary amount.

[73] For Cellini in the 1540s and 1550s, see ASF Manoscritti 321, 32, 37, 42, 48, 53, 56, 104, 109. Cellini was convicted of sodomy in 1556. He was confined to house arrest and court patronage directed to him ceased until the 1560s, at which time his name reappeared in these lists of salaried artists. Until the 1560s, when patronage directed to Ammannati increased, he appeared only once in these transcribed lists, in 1555, ASF Manoscritti 321, 106.

[74] ASF Manoscritti 321, 155: "Ruolo de Salariati del 1559 seg.to K. dell'Ill.mo & Ecc.mo Sr. Duca Cosimo Duca di Firenze e di Siena, che si conserva nell'Archivio del Monte delle Graticole:" "Vincenzio Danti Perugino Scultore—f 50—per sua mercedie dell'Ercole e anteo."

[75] Charles Davis, "Working for Vasari in Palazzo Vecchio," in *Giorgio Vasari tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica*, ed. G.C. Garfagnani (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1985), 257-258, published three excerpts from ASF Fabbriche Medicee 21, f. 132r.

long periods of time, the material costs that appear with Danti's name in 1559 as part of his salary suggest that his work on that fountain group extended into that year, and the casting probably failed sometime that spring.[76] Unfortunately, these indications of material costs for his work shed no light on the total of Danti's early payments at court or his regular salary. Nonetheless, they indicate that he was exceptional among practicing sculptors in Florence at the time.

The artistic landscape in Florence changed fairly dramatically 1557 and 1560. These years seem to contitute a gap in major projects for sculptors while ducal patronage focused on the renovation and redecoration of the Palazzo Vecchio, primarily employing painters and plasterers rather than sculptors.[77] Members of the previous generation of court sculptors were working less. Cellini had fallen from favor due to his conviction for sodomy.[78] Bandinelli still ran an enormous workshop but was receiving limited patronage.[79] The next generation of sculptors who would complete so many Medici projects in the 1560s had not yet been called upon to join the corps of court sculptors. Vincenzo de' Rossi and Valerio Cioli, Danti's contemporaries and both from Florence, were working in Rome.[80] Domenico Poggini, who later distinguished himself, like Danti,

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[76] Ammannati had taken over the project and had already completed his figure group by December 1559, see Branca, "Ercole e Anteo," 382.

[77] van Veen, *Cosimo I de'Medici*, 10-31.

[78] Pope-Hennessy, *Cellini* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1985), 281-282; Margaret Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini: Sexuality, Masculinity, and Artistic Identity in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 9-12, 30, 45-49.

[79] Pilliod, "Representation," 38-39; Waldman, "Bandinelli and the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore: Patronage, Privilege, and Pedagogy," in *Santa Maria del Fiore: The Cathedral and its Sculpture*, ed. Margaret Haines (Fiesole: Edizioni Cadmo, 2001) 244-245.

[80] For Cioli's dates in Florence and Rome, see Martin Weinberger, "A Sixteenth-Century Restorer," *Art Bulletin 27* (1945): 266-268; Billie Jean Thompson Fischer, "The Sculpture of Valerio Cioli" (PhD diss, University of Michigan, 1976), 6-8, 25-26. In Rome at the time of Bandinelli's death in 1560, Vincenzo de' Rossi wrote to Cosimo to offer his services as sculptor; see Regine Schallert, *Studien zu Vincenzo de'Rossi:*

as both poet and sculptor, had worked as a medallist and goldsmith for the Medici workshops since the 1540. Poggini had completed only two sculptures in marble, the *Bacchus* of 1554 and the *Apollo* of 1559, and had not yet received a commission in bronze.[81] Giovanni Bandini and Andrea Calemech, Danti's later collaborators on ducal projects, were both still young apprentices in the workshops of Bandinelli and Ammannati, respectively.[82] Although Giambologna had likely been resident in Florence since the mid 1550s, he would not receive a commission from the court until the marble *Samson and a Philistine* of the early 1560s.[83] The outpouring of ducal patronage for sculpture that characterized the 1560s had not begun, and Danti was first among this long list of sculptors to find his way onto the ducal payment rolls.

Danti was never described as a *cortigiano*, a courtier. In fact, the documents that list salaried servants to the Medici court encourage caution in the use of the term "courtier."[84] Because these salary lists include a broad range of court servants from maids

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Die frühen und mittleren Werke (1536-1561) (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1998), 19; Louis A. Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli and Art at the Medici Court: A Corpus of Early Modern Sources* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004), 758-759, doc. 1335.

[81] Hildegard Utz, "Sculptures by Domenico Poggini," *Metropolitan Museum Art Journal* 10 (1975): 67-70; Ulrich Middeldorf and Friedrich Kriegbaum, "Forgotten Sculpture by Domenico Poggini," *Burlington Magazine* 53 (1928): 11-12.

[82] For Bandini, see Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:298; Francesco Vossilla, "Baccio Bandinelli e Giovanni Bandini nel coro del Duomo," in *Sotto il cielo della Cupola*, ed. Timothy Verdon (Milan: Electa, 1997), 86-95. For Calamech, see Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:625-626; Fernando Loffredo, "La giovinezza di Bartolomeo Ammannati all'ombra della tomba Nari," in *L'acqua, la pietra, il fuoco*, 118-119.

[83] Cole, *Ambitious Form*, 39-41; Charles Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture* (London: Phaidon and Christie's, 1987), 75-77.

[84] For discussion of the term "courtier" as it relates to the status and role of artists at court, see Introduction, above; Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist (Hofkünstler)*, trans. David McLintock (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 113-120; Stephen J. Campbell, "Introduction," in *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity, 1300-1550*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press in partnership with Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, 2004), 12-16. See also Richard Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer: Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and the*

to ambassadors, we cannot use the term either to describe a specific group of people employed by the court or those who were in intellectual service to the court.[85] Several key players in the intellectual life of the Medici court, the poet and historian Benedetto Varchi chief among them, never appeared in these rolls.[86] Danti was unique among younger artists in appearing in the salary lists. Yet given the gaps in the payment records, his pursuit of status at the Medici court is better explored by looking at his negotiation of professional patronage and brokerage than through the records of his employment. Tracking the brokerage of his professional career clarifies how Danti negotiated alliegiances within this court network.

FLORENTINE CONNECTIONS

Danti maintained his position as a salaried artist through reliance on intermediaries to facilitate his success. He received work intended for the court immediately upon his arrival in Florence and, through the help of members of the court, continued to receive Medici patronage even following the failed casting of the *Hercules and Antaeus* fountain. As a tool for historians, the concept of brokerage can help us to define professional and social relationships and to track changing status within court circles. Brokerage functioned through individuals who connected dependent clients with

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Performance of Identity in the Late Renaissance (Burlington and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 129-131, on social status and professional musicians.

[85] Campbell, "Introduction," 11.

[86] See Leatrice Mendelsohn, *Paragoni: Benedetto Varchi's Due Lezzioni and Cinquecento Art Theory*, Studies in the Fine Arts 6 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 3-7, 29-33; Lionel Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi on the Birth of Artefacts: Architecture, Alchemy, and Power in Late Renaissance Florence" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Ghent, 2005), 9-10, 41-46. Vincenzo Danti's connection to Benedetto Varchi is discussed in Chapter 5.

the patronage of the prince. Sharon Kettering has defined a court's political function in terms of brokerage and clientage when she mapped the political geography of seventeenth-century France. In the mechanism she outlined, regional landlords sought brokers at the court of France to assert their local interests in a national setting.[87] By facilitating the careers of these provincial clients, the brokers also augmented their own value to the court. Although brokerage is useful in mapping status and structural relationships within a network of princely servants, the concept has yet to be applied either to the patronage structures of the Medici court or to Danti's career.

When he was a new arrival to Florence, Danti needed brokers to provide workspace and connections to patrons. As a bronze-caster, plasterer, and goldsmith, he also offered a range of skills that would assure potential brokers of his future success. His studies in both Rome and Perugia and his early forays to Florence also gave him the credibility of connections to workshops in various cities.[88] Most important, however, was the success of his Perugian monument to Pope Julius III. His reputation certainly would have preceded him to Florence and led court to entrust him with a monumental bronze project upon his arrival—that *Hercules* fountain group for the Villa Castello. As Danti crafted his professional persona in Florence, his relationships to his brokers shifted.

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[87] Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press: 1986): 3-22; Sharon Kettering, *Patronage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France* (Burlington, VT, and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002). Janie Cole recently used this same framework to chart the changing interactions between Maffeo Barberini, Galileo, and Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger in the context of Baroque Rome, in "Cultural Clientelism and Brokerage Networks in Early Modern Florence and Rome: New Correspondence between the Barberini and Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger" *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007): 729–88.

[88] Most scholars date Danti's time in Rome between the late 1540s and 1553, when he received the commission in Perugia for the Julius III monument. See Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti, 1530-1576*, 17; Santi, *Vincenzo Danti scultore*, 14; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 4-5. These sources base their dating on Pascoli's assertion that Danti went to Rome at a young age, "si può dir puerile"; Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti perugini*, 138.

Evidence of these shifts, in the documentary record and in the commissions he received, illuminates both the structural organization of the Medici network of artists and the changes in Danti's professional status as he worked within that network.

Certain Medici courtiers who had already associated with Danti probably encouraged him to Florence. Sforza Almeni, one of Duke Cosimo I's closest advisors, also came from Perugia. Almeni's family in Perugia would have known of the recent success of Danti's Julius III statue, and Almeni soon acted as a powerful broker for Danti's aspirations to court patronage.[89] Almeni had also facilitated Giorgio Vasari's success at court, and the two may have collaborated to bring Danti to Florence.[90] Almeni later hired Danti to create statuary for his Fiesole villa as well as his first monumental marble sculpture, *Honor that Conquers Deceit*.[91] In addition, Baccio Bandinelli had worked with Danti in the past. Bandinelli would have been eager to entice the Perugian sculptor to Florence as an assistant for his choir project or to add a young and talented sculptor to his workshop to attract further patronage. Since 1546 Bandinelli had been working to create an architectural surround for the choir of the Florence cathedral and to

[89] For biographies of Sforza Almeni, see Domenico Mellini, *Ricordi intorno ai costumi, azioni e governo del Sereniss. Gran Duca Cosimo I* (Florence: Stamperia Magheri, 1820), 4, 89-91; Guglielmo Enrico Saltini, *Tragedie domestiche Medicee, 1557-1587* (Florence: G. Barbèra, 1898), 178-227; G. B. Ristori, "Di una casa in via dei Servi e alcuni avvenimenti che si riferiscono (il Palazzo Almeni)," *Arte e storia* 25, n. 5-6 (1906): 38-40; Charles Davis, "Frescos by Vasari for Sforza Almeni, 'Coppiere' to Duke Cosimo I," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 24 (1980): 127- 202.

[90] On Vasari and Almeni's social ties, Charles Davis, "Frescoes by Vasari for Sforza Almeni," 139-142. Vasari likely met Danti when both artists were in Rome around in the early 1550s. Vasari described Danti's early years in Florence; Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:631. For Vasari's major responsibilities in these years, Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari,* 14-16. Danti immediately was connected to court commissions under Vasari's oversight, a circumstance that suggests that Vasari facilitated his work for the Florentine court. For more on Vasari's role in Danti's career, see Chapter 2.

[91] For Danti's works in Almeni's gardens, see Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:631.

adorn it with sculpture in marble and bronze (Fig. 2).[92] By the late 1550s, he was in search of additional sculptors to assist with carving relief panels for that project.[93] While both Almeni and Bandinelli were interested in promoting Danti's success, they were antagonistic towards each other, and their argumentative relationship plunged Danti into a web of tricky patronage and brokerage ties as he worked to establish his career in Florence.

DANTI'S EARLY BROKERS IN FLORENCE: SFORZA ALMENI

Sforza Almeni, the first of these brokers, has long been identified as Vincenzo Danti's primary patron and supporter in Florence. Almeni was duke Cosimo's cupbearer, and is perhaps best known for dying at the hand of the duke he served. Cosimo stabbed Almeni to death in May 1566 for unknown reasons.[94] In 1898, Guglielmo Saltini filled in the lacunae of the sixteenth-century sources' descriptions of Almeni's death to craft a

[92] Waldman, "Bandinelli and the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore," 229. Nicole Hegener, *Divi Iacobi Eques: Selbstdarstellung im Werk des Florentiner Bildhauers Baccio Bandinelli*, Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien 159 (Berlin: Deitscher Kunstverlag München Berlin, 2008), 493-496, has named 1547 as the start date of the project. However, the research of Louis Waldman, "The Choir of Florence Cathedral: Transformations of Sacred Space, 1334-1572" (PhD diss, New York University, 1999), 84-87, 322-323, has shown that marble was ordered as early as September 1546.

[93] For Bandinelli's frequent requests for more *garzoni*, see Waldman, "Bandinelli and the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore," 243; Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 293-295.

[94] Baccio Baldini, *Vita di Cosimo Medici, Primo Gran Duca di Toscana* (Florence: Stamperia di B. Sermartelli, 1578), 71, describes the proliferation of rumors about Cosimo's reasons for killing his beloved servant: "...ne mai si seppe veramente la cagione perche il Duca facesse questo, se bene molte sene dissero & varie secondo le assai & diverse conietture che facevano diversamente credere, & per conseguente ragionare alcuno in un modo & alcun'altro in altro, & queste furon tante che il volere raccontare tutte sarebbe cosa molto lunga & di soperchio, conciosia cosa che niuna di quelle ne fusse certa, ben si dee ragionevolmente credere che molto fusse giusta & potente la cagioine qualunque ella si fusse che mosse il Duca à fare uno atto si rigido & si severo & non convenevole a lui contro a un suo servidore che gli era stato tanti anni cotanto caro."

semi-historical narrative of betrayal.[95] Saltini gleaned from these early accounts that Almeni had overstepped his role as Cosimo's confidant when he informed prince Francesco de' Medici that his father, the duke, was considering marrying his mistress, Leonora degli Albizzi. Cosimo banished Almeni, who did not leave town as instructed, and the next time Cosimo saw Almeni, he stabbed him to death.[96]

Beyond the accounts of his death, documentary records expand on Almeni's history and service to the Medici court. According to his close friend Vasari, Almeni had served the Medici dukes since he was a young man at the court of Duke Alessandro.[97] Sforza's father, Vincenzo Almeni, had served Maria Salviati, Cosimo's mother, in the early *cinquecento*.[98] Sforza began serving Cosimo upon his coronation as duke in 1537, and he was salaried at least as early as 1543.[99] In 1545, Cosimo instructed Pierfrancesco Riccio to investigate Almeni's family background and rank in his hometown of Perugia. On 7 August, Riccio wrote to Cosimo that Almeni had come from a merchant family. Sforza's father, Vincenzo, had been a member of the Arte della Lana, and his brother still practiced the wool trade.[100] Such an investigation into Almeni's background and ability to

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[95] His dramatic writing style and smooth knitting together of inconclusive documents suggest Saltini was primarily interested in telling a salacious story.

[96] Saltini, *Tragedie domestiche Medicee*, 195-204, citing ASF Manoscritti, Settimani IV, 366-367, and Baccio Baldini, *Vita di Cosimo Medici*, 72. See also Luciano Berti, *Il principe dello Studiolo*, 18.

[97] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:230: "Perchè Giorgio, il quale era suo amicissimo, e si conoscevano insino quando ambidue stavano col duca Alessandro."

[98] Saltini, *Tragedie domestiche Medicee*, 196.

[99] ASF Manoscritti 321, 15: "M[esser] Sforza da Perugia Camer[ier]e f[iorini] 6 ½". Surrounding listings clarify that this was a monthly salary.

[100] ASF Mediceo del Principato 613, f. 43r–44r: "In Perugia sono le sotto scritte sorte d'huomini: Gentil'huomini, Nobili, Cittadini nobili, Cittadini, et artigiani, che sono cinque spetie… Sono li cittadini a' quali è lecito mercatare et far traffichi di bottega, si come alle tre conditioni di sopra non è lecito né mercatare né fare alcuna arte, che gli sarebbe di grande infamia. Tutti questi godono il benefitio della città, excepto che questi ultimi chiamati cittadini absoluti non possono esser Gonfalonieri, ma si bene de'

hold office in Perugia implies that Cosimo hoped he could entrust Almeni with high rank and confidences, without worrying that Almeni might return to a position of power in his hometown. As a non-Florentine, Almeni was trusted by Cosimo precisely because he had no familial ties to Florence or its nobility.[101] Less than two years after his murder, Vasari described Almeni's role as "cupbearer and first and most favorite valet of the duke."[102] His name appeared on the transcribed lists of salaried and stipended courtiers throughout his service to Cosimo.[103] Baldini, who published his biography of Cosimo in 1578, noted that Almeni received a knighthood and was considered an affable and genteel courtier.[104] As a fellow Perugian with a permanent position in Cosimo's inner circle and connections to other courtiers who could patronize a young sculptor, Almeni was in an ideal position to act as a broker for Danti.

Signori. Di questa quarta spetie d'huomini della città di Perugia fu el padre di messer Sforza cameriere di V. Ex.a, et in vita sua fece arte di lana, la quale hoggi exercita un fratello di detto messer Sforza, et lasciò poche substantie." Transcription from the Medici Archive Project, document ID 17953, http://bia.medici.org/DocSources/Home.do (accessed June 13, 2013).

[101] On Cosimo I's preference for advisors who were non-Florentine or non-patrician, see Louis A. Waldman, "Patronage, Lineage, and Self-Promotion in Maso di San Friano's Naples Double Portrait," *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 10 (2005): 153-54; R. Burr Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy: The Florentine Patricians, 1530-1790* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 147.

[102] Vasari-Milanesi *Opere*, 6:230: "coppiere e primo e più favorito cameriere del duca." Most scholars rely heavily on Vasari's descriptions of Almeni in the *vita* of Cristofano Gherardi, who completed frescoes for Almeni after Vasari's designs.

[103] ASF Manoscritti 321 (all listings are labeled as a "Debitori e Creditori" volume unless otherwise specified), 30 (1547), 41 (Salariati della Corte, 1550), 52 (1552), 55 (Conto dei Salariati, 1553), 62 (Salariati della Corte, 1564), 73 (Ruolo dell'Ecc.mo S.r Duca Cosimo, 1563), 101 (Ruolo dal Libro dei Salariati, 1553), 107 (Ruolo dal Libro dei Salariati, 1555), 111 (Ruolo dal Libro dei Salariati, 1556), 114 (Ruolo di Salariati, 1557), 118 (Ruolo dei Salariati,1559), 122 (Salariati, 1555), 126 (1556), 129 (1557), 133 (Ruolo dei Salariati, 1558), 138 (1558), 141 (1560), 144 (1561), 147 (1562), 151 (1563), 154 (Ruolo dei Salariati, 1559), 158 (Ruolo delli Stipendiati, 1559), 164 (Ruolo delli Stipendiati, 1562).

[104] "Era in questo tempo venuto sommamente nella grazia del Duca per il lungo tempo che egli l'aveva amorevolmente servito messere Sforza Armeni [sic] Perugino, povero huomo & di bassa condizione, ma per il favore che il Duca gli havea fatto era divenuto Cavaliere di Portogallo"; Baldini, *Vita di Cosimo Medici*, 71.

Even before Danti's arrival, Almeni had already promoted the careers of other non-Florentine artists. In 1546, Cosimo had given Almeni a palace in via de' Servi, and Almeni oversaw work to renovate this palace and decorate it during the late 1540s and the early 1550s.[105] The renovation projects included a series of façade frescoes as well as fresco decorations in a ground floor room. Both cycles were designed by Vasari and represented themes of the dutiful service of the courtier.[106] The facade decoration was Vasari's first major public project in Florence in nearly two decades and preceded his return to Medici favor. The façade frescoes, now lost, included images of Lake Trasimeno (for Perugia) and the Arno (for Florence), which flanked the main entrance to emphasize the friendship between Perugia and Florence.[107] Vasari's assistant in this project, Cristofano Gherardi (il Doceno), required brokerage from Almeni as well. In order to ensure that he could paint these frescoes, Almeni negotiated a ducal pardon that cleared Gherardi of the charge of that he had associated with an anti-Medici militia.[108] Almeni continued to facilitate the careers of non-Florentine artists on several occasions, most significantly through his patronage of Danti. Cosimo also gave Almeni property in

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[105] Emanuele Barletti, "Di una facciata dosiana a Volterra e di altri 'frammenti' di architettura fiorentina del Cinquecento," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 32 (1988): 590; Leonardo Ginori Lisci, *The Palazzi of Florence: Their History and Art*, trans. Jennifer Grillo (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1985), 439-441; G.B. Ristori, "Di una casa in via dei Servi," 38-40; Charles Davis, "Frescoes by Vasari for Sforza Almeni," 127.

[106] Davis, "Frescoes by Vasari for Sforza Almeni," 170-186; Barletti, "Di una facciata dosiana a Volterra," 591-592. For Vasari's correspondence with Almeni to develop the program, see Karl Frey and Hermann-Walther Frey, eds, *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris* [hereafter Vasari-Frey] (1930; repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1982-3), 1:368-379.

[107] Ruffini, *Art without an Author*, 49-53; Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 6:236-237; Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:376-377; Gunther and Christel Thiem, *Toskanische Fassaden-Dekoration in Sgraffito und Fresko, 14. bis 17. Jahrhundert* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1964): 35-36.

[108] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 6:230-231.

Fiesole in 1551, and Almeni soon constructed a villa onsite.[109] Currently the Villa Rondinelli, Almeni's property is located just up the Via Vecchia Fiesolana from a villa formerly owned by Bandinelli.[110]

DANTI'S EARLY BROKERS IN FLORENCE: BACCIO BANDINELLI

Danti's Florentine career can also be tied to that of the successful but volatile sculptor Baccio Bandinelli. Bandinelli had worked for the Medici since the reign of duke Alessandro, but he completed the most commissions and enjoyed the greatest status of his career in the 1540s while serving Cosimo. During Cosimo's reign, he was granted authority over the *fabbrica* of the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore and he created the sculptures for Cosimo's grand reception hall of the Palazzo della Signoria.[111] By the time of Danti's arrival, Vasari, a rival of Bandinelli, had become the primary distributor of court arts commissions, and Bandinelli's status had declined.[112] The decline seems to have sharpened Bandinelli's hunger for status, and he sought both new sculpture

[109] Stefano Casciu and Francesca Baldry, *Ville e giardini nei dintorni di Firenze* (Florence: Polistampa, 2010), 192-193, 199; Ines Romitti and Mariella Zoppi, *Guida ai giardini di Fiesole* (Florence: Alinea Editrice, 2000), 29-30, 35-37, 41.

[110] Almeni's villa, currently Villa Rondinelli, is via vecchia Fiesolana n. 21, while Bandinelli's villa, now Villa Papiniano, is n. 65.

[111] Waldman, "Bandinelli and the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore," 221, 228; Hegener, *Divi Jacobi Eques*, 492-497; Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli*, xix-xxviii, and 207-209, docs. 340-341. In the same decade, Bandinelli was also elected to the Accademia Fiorentina, the literary society to which Danti also later matriculated, see Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli*, 294, doc. 487.

[112] Pilliod, "Representation," 39-43, and 49-50; Douglas Biow, *In Your Face: Professional Improprieties and the Art of Being Conspicuous in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press: 2010): 12-13; Waldman, "Bandinelli and the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore," 242-245. As young men, both Vasari and Bartolomo Ammannati worked in Bandinelli's workshop in the 1520s, see Charles Davis, "The Tomb of Mario Nari for the SS. Annunziata in Florence: The Sculptor Bartolomeo Ammannati until 1544," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 21 (1977): 70-71.

assistants and new commissions from the duke.[113] By the late 1550s, however, Bandinelli's career had stagnated due to his reputation for volatility.[114] For this very reason, the opportunity to cultivate the career of a promising young artist, one who might even bring commissions to his workshop, was likely especially attractive to Bandinelli. Bandinelli's workshop, in turn, provided Danti the workspace a sculptor new to Florence would require.

Both documentary and stylistic evidence indicate that Danti worked in Bandinelli's workshop. A letter from the early 1550s connects the two sculptors prior to Danti's long-term move to Florence in 1557. A close reading of this letter shifts traditional conclusions about the date of Danti's initial arrival in the Medici capital and demonstrates that Florentines knew the connection between Danti and Bandinelli well. In this letter to Benvenuto Cellini, a certain Ferrando complained that he had struggled to find work in Rome. He blames this difficulty on "a certain master Dante, a sculptor who used to stay with Cavaliere Bandinelo."[115] The correspondence itself is undated and the timeline that it describes is likewise unclear. Nonetheless, circumstances around the events described in the letter indicate it was written around 1551 or 1552. The letter therefore situates Danti's first trip to Florence, when he stayed with Bandinelli, prior to 1552.

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[113] Joelle Lardi, "The Artist, the Bureaucracy, and the River: Baccio Bandinelli and his Work for the Florentine Ufficiali dei Fiumi," (in press, 2012), 5-6; Waldman, "Bandinelli and the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore," 243; Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 293-295.

[114] Biow, *In Your Face*, 10-13; Waldman, "Baccio Bandinelli and the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore," 239-245.

[115] Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli*, 450, doc. 777a: "certo maestro Dante scultore che istava gia col Cavaliere Bandinelo". The spelling of Danti's last name varied even in sources contemporary with his career.

If the author of this letter was the Ferrando di Giovanni da Montepulciano whom Cellini was later convicted of sodomizing, the timeline of his association with Cellini helps to date the letter. Ferrando must have composed it before he left Cellini's workshop and was cut out of Cellini's will in June 1556.[116] Thus, Danti's association with Bandinelli must also pre-date the 1556 break between the assistant and the master goldsmith. Establishing that Danti worked with Bandinelli prior to 1556 does not, however, clarify geographically where Danti first "stayed with" the older sculptor. Although Ferrando described his conflict with Danti as occuring when they were both in Rome, he also described two relationships that may or may not have overlapped: Danti's mistreatment of Ferrando (in Rome) and Danti's association with Bandinelli.[117]

Despite the letter's emphasis on a Roman context for the interactions between Ferrando and Danti, Claudio Pizzorusso has pointed out that the letter does not necessarily mean that Danti's connection to Bandinelli was also based in Rome.[118] If Ferrando intended to indicate that Danti stayed with Bandinelli there, their connection would date to the early 1540s. At that time, the Bandinelli was carving the tombs of the Medici popes at Santa Maria sopra Minerva, and Danti would have been a very young

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[116] Paolo Rossi. "The Writer and the Man, Real Crimes and Mitigating Circumstances: Il caso Cellini," in *Crime, Society and the Law in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Trevor Dean and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 178.

[117] The verb tenses of the letter make it difficult to determine whether Danti stayed with Bandinelli before, during, or after his conflict with Ferrando. Ferrando describes the event of his near-starvation in the past "perché io sono istato tre mesi che io non mi sono guadagnato niente, mercé d'un certo Dante scultore," and connects Danti to that event, and then uses imperfect tense to connect Danti to Bandinelli, "che istava già col Cavaliere Bandinelo." Towards the end of the letter, however, he seems to imply that these events are only recently changing, and begins to use the present tense: "Ma adeso non li intraverà così, in però per gratia e umilità vostra piaciavi farmi la sopraditta gratia per l'amor [di] Dio, perché ve ne arò obrigo perpetuo…"

[118] Pizzorusso, "Indagine su uno scultore," 162.

boy of just ten or elevens years of age.[119] If a mentorship had originated in those brief months in 1540, their connection certainly would have required later reinforcement for Cellini and Ferrando to use that association to label Danti in the 1550s.[120]

A more likely explanation for Danti's connection to Bandinelli situates their relationship in the early 1550s, when Danti may have worked for Bandinelli's workshop in Florence. Ferrando was associated with the workshop of Cellini for approximately five years, beginning 1551 or 1552.[121] The three months during which Ferrando went without work in Rome, the circumstance he attributed to Danti, must have immediately pre-dated his work in Cellini's workshop, since the remainder of the letter describes Ferrando's gratitude to Cellini's for his assistance in finding work.[122] Pizzorusso proposed that Ferrando's letter should be read as documentation of a previously unknown trip that Danti made to Florence in the early 1550s.[123] No corroborating evidence supports this

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[119] According to extant letters, Bandinelli's time in Rome to finish these tombs was brief. Letters about the project date his presence in the city to between December 1540 and May 1541. See Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli*, 206-217, docs. 339, 346, 348-351. Danti's apprenticeship with Panfilio Marchesi could not have begun until Marchesi's arrival in Rome in 1543. If Danti arrived in Rome prior to 1543, he certainly would have needed to another apprenticeship or workshop; see Summers, "The Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 4.

[120] In most Florentine documents, Danti is labeled "perugino" rather than by his relationships to other members of the Florentine network of artists.

[121] Rossi, "The Writer and the Man," 178, n80.

[122] Last line of the letter fragment: "Ma adeso non li intraverà così, in però per gratia e umilità vostra piaciavi farmi la sopraditta gratia per l'amor [di] Dio, perché ve ne arò obrigo perpetuo…" ("but now it will not be like that [anymore], if out of your grace and humility it will please you do do the above mentioned favor, for the love of God, for which I will be forever obliged to you"), translation thanks to the assistance of Thomas de Pasquale. Thus, the letter was certainly not written after Cellini broke ties with Ferrando in 1556, and it is improbably that Ferrando wrote the letter during the five years of his time in Cellini's Florentine workshop.

[123] In February 1557, Cellini confessed to commiting sodomy with Ferrando di Giovanni da Montepulciano, his workshop assistant. This Ferrando had left Florence in June of 1556. Douglas N. Dow, "Benvenuto Cellini's Bid for Membership in the Florentine Confraternity of San Giovanni Battista detta dello Scalzo," *Confraternitas* 20 (2009): 5-7; Rossi, "The Writer and the Man," 178-179.

claim, although Danti may have have also met Sforza Almeni and Timoteo Bottonio, fellow Perugians who were resident in Florence at that time and later were closely connected to Danti.[124] These connnections may have prompted Danti's later relocation to the Tuscan capital.

If he had come to Florence in the 1550s, the trip must indeed have been early in the decade and also very brief, as by the mid-1550s the young sculptor was very busy in Perugia.[125] Pizzorusso has suggested that Danti made one or more trips to Florence around 1550-1552.[126] Alessandro Nova has argued that Danti derived reclining nude figures for the triple crown of the Julius III monument from Michelangelo's statues in the New Sacristy, and therefore suggested that Danti made at least one trip to Florence before the Julius III statue was cast in 1553.[127] Because Ferrando and Danti's antagonism in Rome preceded Ferrando's work in Cellini's workshop, and because the letter describing that antagonism records Danti's connection to Bandinelli as earlier than those same dates, Danti almost certainly came to Florence to work in Bandinelli's workshop sometime between 1549 and 1551. During that trip, he also remained in Bandinelli's workshop long enough to have been known to other sculptors practicing in Florence. The phrase that

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[124] Pizzorusso, "Indagine su uno scultore," 162.

[125] The window for such a trip to Florence is very narrow. Danti had matriculated in the goldsmith's guild in Perugia in January of 1548 and received the commission for the Julius III monument in May of 1553. See Nova, "La statua di Giulio III a Perugia," 61. Danti had to return to Perugia often enough in these years to complete the Julius III monument, the della Corgna chapel, and the tomb of Guglielmo Pontano.

[126] Pizzorusso, "Indagine su uno scultore," 162.

[127] Nova, "La statua di Giulio III a Perugia," 61. These figures may also have been known to Danti via prints, the first of which were produced in 1537-1538; see Bernadine Barnes, *Michelangelo in Print: Reproductions as Response in the Sixteenth Century* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 154; Raphael Rosenberg, "The Reproduction and Publication of Michelangelo's New Sacristy: Drawings and Prints by Franco, Salviati, Naldini, and Cort," in *Reactions to the Master: Michelangelo's Effect on Art and Artists in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis and Paul Joannides (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 115-127

Ferrando used to label this "Dante scultore," the one "who stayed with Cavaliere Bandinelo," shows that association between Bandinelli and Danti was sufficiently common knowledge to identify and label Danti in Florentine circles.

Evidence of professional ties between the two sculptors does not rest solely on this letter, however. David Summers pointed out stylistic parallels between the work of Danti and Bandinelli.[128] Without reference to the letter fragment that connects the two sculptors, Summers suggested that Danti probably assisted Bandinelli in carving marble reliefs for the choir of the cathedral.[129] The dates of the letter from Ferrando, however, indicate that Danti's visit could have coincided only with work on the very earliest reliefs made by Bandinelli's workshop for the choir-surround.[130] While in Florence, Danti probably did study marble carving at the Academy that Bandinelli had received permission to run at the Opera del Duomo. If so, he shared this training with many of the sculptors who would later be his peers at the Medici court, including Vincenzo de' Rossi and Battista Lorenzi.[131] The collective weight of the evidence suggests that Danti made an undocumented trip to Florence in the early 1550s, while Bandinelli was working on multiple projects without the interference of Vasari, and when Sforza Almeni was already a trusted confidante of Duke Cosimo.

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[128] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 135; Summers, "Chronology," 190-193.

[129] Summers, "Chronology," 193.

[130] 15 March 1553, Bandinelli to Jacopo Guidi, "Quanto al coro, seguito per dare fine a tutto il procinto del parapetto, che ci va profeti e santi del Nuovo e Vechio Testamento", in Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli*, 514 (doc. 928). See also Giovanni Gaetano Bottari and Stefano Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura scritte da' più celebri personaggi dei secoli XV, XVI, e XVII* (Milan: Giovanni Silvestri, 1822) 1:98-99; Hegener, *Divi Iacobi Eques*, 495. The document notes work on the parapet on which prophets would be installed, rather than the reliefs themselves. Note that work on these reliefs moved slowly and most reliefs were produced after Bandinelli's death and into the 1570s.

[131] Waldman, "Bandinelli and the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore," 235-236.

CONFLICT BETWEEN ALMENI AND BANDINELLI

When Danti returned to Florence on a permanent basis, he required both workshop space and relationships with patrons who could help him locally establish his professional reputation. The combined resources of Almeni and Bandinelli met Danti's needs for both workspace and commissions. However, within two years of Danti's arrival, his two brokers engaged in a squabble about water usage at their adjacent suburban villas. While Danti worked to recover professionally from the disaster the *Hercules* fountain group, he also found his support system shaken by this conflict.

Almeni and Bandinelli owned adjacent villa properties on the sloping hill of Fiesole, overlooking the Arno valley and the city of Florence. Bandinelli had purchased his land, with a villa, an inn, and various fields, in 1533.[132] Throughout the 1530s and 1540s, Bandinelli dealt frequently with the management of this estate. He began purchasing adjacent plots,[133] leased out the on-site inn, Le Tre Pulzelle, and wineshop,[134] and engaged in disputes about water usage with the friars of the adjacent convent of San Domenico.[135] As mentioned previously, Sforza Almeni had also acquired property in

[132] Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli*, 121, doc. 221.

[133] Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli*, 129-130, doc. 230.

[134] Ibid., 131, doc. 233; 151-153, doc. 257; 249, doc. 409; 249-250, doc. 410.

[135] Ibid., 144-145, doc. 249; 252, doc. 416, a letter from Duke Cosimo to Bandinelli in which he asked Bandinelli to clarify his complaint about the friars: "Voi scrivete che sete venuto a noia a' frati, et non ce ne dite la cagione. Haremo charo che ce la facciate sapere; et non venendo il difetto da voi stesso vedremo di ripararci."

Fiesole, in 1551, and his villa was located slighly up the hill from Bandinelli's property.[136]

In the fall of 1558, Almeni diverted the water source to a fountain, formerly associated with Bandinelli's property, for his own use. In a draft of an early letter to the duke, Bandinelli claimed that Almeni "by force has taken an ancient fountain, put in the middle of the street, close to four braccia from my property, where I have my house."[137] The fountain installed by Bandinelli still exists at the southeast corner of his property, with an inscribed plaque and the Bandinelli coat of arms depicted in relief on the pedestal of the basin (Fig. 3).[138] Bandinelli's drafts of letters to duke Cosimo and to the duchess Eleonora di Toledo in September and October 1558 provide the closest approximation to a thorough report of the dispute.[139] Although Bandinelli created a colorful account, these letters represent the total corpus of sources about the dispute and are therefore problematic as source material, not least because they describe only one side of the story. Furthermore, Bandinelli was notorious both for aggressive behavior towards fellow courtiers and for extravagant professional posturing in order to achieve his own plans and

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[136] Guido Carocci, *I dintorni di Firenze* (Florence: Gallettie Cocci, 1906-1907; Rome: Società multigrafica editrice, 1968) 1:116-117. Carocci noted that the villa on Almeni's property dates to the time of Matteo di Pagolo delle Macchie, althought Almeni substantially enlarged and altered the villa, also creating and decorating the gardens as described by Vasari.

[137] Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli*, 673-674, doc. 1242: "violentemente e cho' forza à preso una fonte anticha posta nel mezo de la istrada vicino a braccia 4 al mio podere, dove ò mia chasa."

[138] The inscription reads: "BACCIVS.BANDINELL.D.IACOBI./ ÆQV.HAS IVGES AQVAS EDVCENDAS. / SIVS SVMPT.AD PVB. ET PRIV. / VTILITATEM CVRAVIT. M.D.LVI / COSMO. MED. FLOREN. DVCE / FOELICITER REGNANTE." For a discussion of the inscription, coat of arms, and form of the fountain, Hegener, *Divi Iacobi Eques*, 208-216.

[139] Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli*, 673-683, docs. 1242-1250; 685-688, docs. 1253-1254; 719-720, doc. 1285.

goals.[140] This posturing, which made him a visible if temperamental advocate for Danti, appears throughout the letters that describe the debate over the Fiesole font.

In his letters protesting Almeni's water use, Bandinelli listed a number of persuasive, if perhaps exaggerated, arguments to persuade the duke to return the water source to him: 1) the font had been associated with his property both by Imperial decree and by the Duke's own laws, 2) his own melancholic nature required cool water, 3) the women and children living on his land were starving because they didn't have enough milk,[141] and 4) the plants and animals in his gardens needed the water to survive. In a draft of a letter to Duchess Eleonora, Bandinelli reported that he had talked to Almeni about it in person, and that both men were under the impression that the Duke had granted them rights to the water.[142] The sculptor also claimed to have moved to Fiesole during this time period, which made the disruption all the more frustrating for him.[143]

Bandinelli also used this opportunity to report to Duke Cosimo the unsuitable behavior he had been witnessing at the Almeni villa, just up the hill. Bandinelli described wild, hedonistic parties there, and he accused Sforza Almeni and his brother Evangelista of perjury and sodomy.[144] He also claimed that Sforza was so powerful and feared at

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[140] For recent discussions, see Waldman, "Baccio Bandinelli and the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore," 232-233, 239-242; Biow, *In Your Face*, 10-14; Hegener, *Divi Iacobi Eques*.

[141] Ibid., 679, doc. 1248: "l'alimento de l'aqua ch'e[s]cie del vostro podere non altrimente che fa e' late de le done e banbini," almost certainly a metaphorical assertion.

[142] Ibid., 676, doc. 1244: "E mi rispose che li avevi deto el simile ch'era venuto per tore l'aqua 'perché el Ducha cie l'à donata.'"

[143] Ibid., 675, doc. 1243: "E perché i' sto chontinovo a Fiesole, a vedere e dolori mia ci è stato Isforzo cho' molti cho[m]pagni per achre[s]cierli."

[144] Ibid., 677-678, doc. 1247: "dove si vede pubricho le ragunate de' fa[n]ciuli a la peruginescha sanza nesuno dimetere di vergognia, s'ode e si vede chostumi da no' li volere i' vicinanza, e i' questa i[n]cita tuta la chorte, che del chontinovo vie[ne] per simili dileti;" and 679, doc. 1248, about Evangelista: "tanto vizioso di mali chostumi che à fato di questo luogo una Sodoma e Gamore."

court that no lawyer or judge in Florence would take Bandinelli's side in a lawsuit.[145] In the draft of one letter, Bandinelli labeled Almeni "the most vindictive and dangerous Perugian that ever came out of Perugia, fearing neither God nor justice nor the ire of the prince."[146] Danti, so new to town and so frequently labeled "the Perugian" during his Florentine career, probably paid close attention to Bandinelli's increasingly venomous attacks against the Almeni brothers. Danti was also creating his first bronze works for the duke in 1558. He likely watched with some trepidation as Bandinelli launched a smear campaign against Sforza Almeni, the most powerful Perugian in Florence and the man who was, perhaps, already advocating for Danti's professional advancement.

Cosimo evidently gave Bandinelli a sharp rebuke for his conduct in connection with the Almeni dispute. On 25 September, Bandinelli wrote to the duke, confessing to have erred and humbly asking pardon.[147] The text of the letter makes clear that Bandinelli's error was associated with the dispute over the water source in Fiesole, although his apology does not clarify his specific offense. Given Almeni's connection with the duke, any slander directed towards him would have been dangerous. Perhaps the accusation held some weight with Cosimo, however, and perhaps he rebuked Almeni as well. Because Bandinelli's letters constitute the total known documentation of this argument, Almeni's behavior and attitude towards Bandinelli—in general or in the context of this property debate—remain largely inaccessible.

During this dispute, and after the failed casting of the *Hercules and Antaeus* group, Danti received no commissions for monumental sculpture projects from Duke

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[145] Ibid., 673, doc. 1242; doc. 1246, 676-677; doc. 1247, 677-678; 682, doc. 1250.

[146] Ibid., 682, doc. 1250: "Questo e 'l più vendichativo e pericholoso perugino che mai u[s]cisi di Perugia, né teme Idio né giustizia né ira di pri[n]cipe."

[147] Ibid., 681, doc. 1249: "Io cierto cho[n]feso avere erato e umilmente a V.ª E.ª domando perdone."

Cosimo. He did work for the court to produce small objects of precious materials and for prestigious locations, such as the gilded bronze door he created for the cupboard to house Duke Cosimo's most important papers in the Palazzo della Signoria;[148] but no large-scale commissions demanded his time and attention. In 1557-1559, Danti sought to establish himself as a competent sculptor in both bronze and marble. Without large commissions from the court, it is at this time that he was likely to have created the marble garden statuary for the Almeni villa in Fiesole.[149] Vasari and Lione Pascoli both described the garden sculptures. Vasari wrote that Danti created a significant number of works for the villa's gardens, describing this corpus of sculptures as "many ornaments in his garden and around certain fountains."[150] Pascoli, as he often did, followed Vasari's description and expanded upon it to add that the works Danti made for these gardens were "rare and bizarre things."[151] Unfortunately, none of these objects remain, and no contemporary letters can be connected with this extensive production of works.[152]

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[148] Commonly called "the Sportello," or little door, scholars have dated the creation of this safe door to 1559-1560 based on documentation of its casting by Zanobi Lastricati. See most recently Charles Davis, "Sportello per la cassaforte di Cosimo I," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 352-354. This object will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 2.

[149] Between 1560 and 1566, the date of Almeni's death, Danti's time was increasingly consumed by the production of monumental objects for Almeni and for Cosimo and he likely had little time for the adornment of Almeni's suburban villa.

[150] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:631: "molti ornamenti in un suo giardino ed intorno a certe fontane."

[151] Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti perugini*, 139: "cose rare, e bizarre."

[152] A single *putto* on the grounds of the current Villa Rondinelli, which is not publically accessible, was the focus of a minor attribution debate in the late twentieth century. For a summary of the arguments, see Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti, 1530-1576*, 81-82. The images of this putto published by Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti, fig. 34, and by Fidanza, fig. 29, show a figure that, while vaguely Michelangelesque, is difficult to link to Danti's work, they describe it as recut, and there are no other comparable early marble objects by Danti. The current owner of Villa Rondinelli believes another statue onsitea heavily muscled *Neptune*, is by Danti, per conversation July 2011, but in this case the style of the figure makes this attribution unsustainable.

SITUATING HIMSELF WITHIN THE NETWORK: DANTI'S *HONOR CONQUERING DECEIT*

This vitriolic conflict between his brokers seems to have had little impact on Danti's professional standing as a client; he did well in these first years in Florence. In the absence of Danti's own voice, we can look to the simple fact that his career survived this potential disruption of professional ties as well as his first professional failure. While most scholars have framed the *Hercules and Antaeus* failure as a major setback to Danti's career, he received commissions for other works nearly immediately, including a number of small bronze commissions from the Duke.[153] As Douglas Biow wrote of Cellini, Danti made statements about his place in the world through the production of material objects such as these.[154] Danti's smaller sculptures attest to his presence at court as an actively employed artist throughout this period. He also garnered criticism exemplified by Cellini's harshly mocking poem fragments cited at the beginning of this chapter, and he clearly represented a threat to established Florentine sculptors.[155] Danti represented an easier target for Cellini's derision than other sculptors in competition for ducal commissions, such as Bartolommeo Ammannati, specifically because Danti was a newcomer at court.[156]

Throughout his early years in Florence, Danti worked to make a place for himself within the network of artists at the Medici court. By 1560, Danti was creating a model for the Neptune fountain working in the house of Alessandro d'Ottaviano de' Medici, cousin

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[153] Summers, "Chronology," 185.

[154] Biow, *In Your Face*, 140.

[155] Michael Cole has argued that cognates of "sforzare" (to force) appear in Giovanni Andrea Gilio's criticism of Michelangelo's Last Judgment as indicative of manipulated bodies that detract from the narrative. Cole presented "sforzi," bent bodies, as particularly characteristic of Florentine sculptures that were meant to demonstrate the talents of the sculptor. See Cole, "The *Figura Sforzata*," 526-533.

[156] Scarabelli, "Il granchio e il grifone," 98-99.

of the duke and future Pope Leo XI.[157] Ammannati, Cellini, Vincenzo de' Rossi, and Giambologna also participated in the competition for this large public commission. Vasari, in the *Vite*, and Leone Leoni, in a letter written at the time of the competition, both report Danti's participation.[158] The creation of a model for a huge marble fountain represented a bold and ambitious move for Danti, probably still known by his peers in Florence primarily as a poor bronze-caster. By competing for a commission that even his ally Vasari reported he could not hope to secure, Danti demonstrated his determination to play a prominent role among the artists serving Cosimo. Leone Leoni's letter addressed Danti's ambition as demonstrated through his participation: "the Perugian did well enough for one so young." Leoni then included the idiomatic phrase "ma non ha voce in capitolo" ("he doesn't have a voice in the chapter [of clerics]"), an indication that Danti was not considered to be a serious contender for the commission.[159] The phrase could even be read as a suggestion that Danti was not even invited to participate.[160] Leoni's letter notes that the Perugian was widely acknowledged as neither experienced enough

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[157] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 6:192: "Non volle mancare di concorrere con questi tre Vincenzio Danti, perugino scultore, giovane di minore età di tutti; non per ottenere il marmo, ma per mostrare l'animosità e l'ingegno suo. Così messosi a lavorare di suo nelle case di messer Alessandro di messer Ottaviano de' Medici, condusse un modello con molte buone parti, grande come gli altri."

[158] For Leoni's letter: Scarabelli, "Il granchio e il grifone," 81; John Pope-Hennessy, *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture: Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture* 4th ed. (London: Phaidon Press, 1996), 3:482; Eugène Plon, *Cellini, Orfevre, Medailleur, Sculpteur* (Paris: Plon et cie, 1883), 236.

[159] "Il Perugino ha fatto assai per giovine; ma non ha voce in capitolo." Pope-Hennessy, *Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, 3:482, translated the idiom as "has no influence"; see also Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 184, n4.

[160] The figurative meaning of "voce" is "to have authority, to have an influential opinion, to be influential." See "voce," *Garzanti Linguistica*, De Agostini Scuola Spa (2009), http://garzantilinguistica.sapere.it/it/dizionario/it/lemma/4f54702689f71abca9f6aec36d5c9e37ae0bc6c3 (accessed June 13, 2012): "8 (*ant.*) voto; diritto di voto '*avere voce in capitolo*, anticamente, detto di religiosi, avere diritto di voto nel capitolo; (*fig.*) avere autorità, avere un'opinione influente; essere ascoltato: *in quell'affare non ha voce in capitolo*."

and nor well connected enough to stand a chance in such a city-wide competition for a ducal commission in 1560. Apparently, Danti's connection to Almeni and his previous work with Bandinelli did not provide the young Perugian sufficient standing for him to be considered a true competitor, at least not in the first three years of his arrival.[161] As Vasari described his participation, Danti sought to submit a model "not to obtain the marble, but to demonstrate his courage and talent."[162] In the wake of the conflict between his brokers and of Bandinelli's death in February 1560, Danti evidently hoped to gain recognition through taking part in this prestigious competition, even if his chances of winning were slim.

Even before Bandinelli's death, however, Danti had chosen to become a client of Almeni's brokerage rather than that of Bandinelli. In 1561, Danti completed a large marble sculpture for Sforza Almeni on the theme of "Honor Conquering Deceit" – *L'Onore che vince l'Inganno* (Figs. 4, 5).[163] Claudio Pizzorusso suggested that this sculpture, Danti's first monumental project in marble, could be read as Sforza Almeni's visual response to Bandinelli's accusations of misconduct.[164] The allegorical sculpture includes a young, lithe, and idealized male figure of *Honor* who physically subdues and

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[161] Interestingly, no such criticism of Giambologna's participation appears in extant documents, even though Giambologna had not completed a single project for either Cosimo or Prince Francesco, while Danti already had completed both the *Moses and the Brazen Serpent* panel and the bronze safe-door, for which see Chapter 2.

[162] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 6:192: "non per ottenere il marmo, ma per mostrare l'animosità e l'ingegno suo."

[163] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:631: "condusse in poco tempo di un pezzo solo di marmo due figure, cioè l'Onore che ha sotto l'Inganno."

[164] Pizzorusso, "Indagine su uno scultore," 151-155. In this essay, formulated as a fictitious dialogue between a detective and an art history professor, Pizzorusso's professor proposes the connection between the property dispute and this statue and then dismisses it due to the date (1561) of a sonnet about the sculpture.

binds the older, bearded figure of *Deceit*. Danti composed the interlocked figures so as to require the audience to walk all the way around the sculpture to witness both the absolute subjugation of *Deceit* and his attributes, a deceptive mask and a human-headed serpent.[165] The beauty of the figure suggests eroticism and sensuality, but the allegory of the statue hinges on the denial of physical eros and its sublimation into virtue. As in other mannerist allegories relating to love, this paradox includes a good deal of tension.[166] The artist's ability to evoke the sensual beauty of the male body becomes at once a performance of virtue and its own contradiction.

The *Honor* statue's assertions about courtly virtue may also have been designed with a more specific target in mind. Louis Waldman has noted that the face of *Deceit* resembles late portraits of Bandinelli, especially in the brow and curly beard of the elder sculptor (Fig. 6).[167] Indeed, for the statue to have been completed by 1561, when the Dominican friar Timoteo Bottonio praised its beauty in a sonnet,[168] the planning for the sculpture and the order for the marble must have begun before Bandinelli's death. Almeni

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[165] Pizzorusso, "Indagine su uno scultore," 157.

[166] Per conversation with Louis Waldman, July 2013. For earlier examples in painting, consider Bronzino's London Allegory, on which Robert Gaston, "Love's Sweet Poison: A New Reading of Bronzino's London 'Allegory'," *Villa I Tatti Studies* (1991): 254-256, 279-288; and Pontormo's *Venus and Cupid*, on which Philippe Costamagna, *Pontormo* (Milan: Electa, 1994), 217-221; Jonathan Katz Nelson, "The Florentine 'Venus and Cupid': A Heroic Female Nude and the Power of Love," in *Venere e amore: Michelangelo e la nuova bellezza ideale*, ed. Franca Falletti (Florence: Giunti and Firenze Musei, 2002), 28-30, 46-50. For a rejection of this particular panel as the one that Pontormo painted, see Elizabeth Pilliod, "The Influence of Michelangelo: Pontormo, Bronzino and Allori," in *Reactions to the Master*, 51.

[167] Waldman, "The Recent Vincenzo Danti Exhibition in Florence," 682.

[168] Bottonio's sonnet was later published in a 1779 volume: Timoteo Botoni, *Poesie sagre del P. Fr. Timoteo Bottonio*, ed. Cesare Orlandi (Perugia: Mario Riginaldi, 1779). The sonnet was published by Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 149, and by Schlosser, "Aus der Bildnerwerkstatt der Renaissance," 76. The following text precedes the body of the sonnet: "Sopra una Statua di marmo di Messer Vincenzio Danti Scultor Perugino, fatta per il Sig. Sforza Almenio, dove apparisce l'Onore, che ha soggiogato l'Ingegno (sic) / Sonetto / Colla data di Firenze 1561."

probably commissioned it in 1559, a few short months after correspondence about the Fiesole properties ceased.[169] Thus, the vivid image of a beautiful, honorable youth binding and subduing an aging, duplicitous enemy that Danti carved was most likely conceived during the last months of Bandinelli's life. Although most viewers may not have recognized the facial resemblence between *Deceit* and portraits of Bandinelli, the tomb that Bandinelli had designed for himself was installed at the church of the Santissima Annunziata in early 1560. The tomb included two portraits of Bandinelli; one was a relief portrait in profile and the other represented him in the guise of Nicodemus.[170] Both show his long beard and distinctive profile, similar to that depiected in the *Honor* sculpture. Differerent audiences had access to different levels of meaning and, for Almeni's allies, such as Vasari and Borghini, the sculpture could be clearly read as criticism of Bandinelli, one of their opponents at court. To this select group, the sculpture conveyed Almeni's assertion that he still enjoyed favor at court despite Bandinelli's slander. By creating this allegorical sculpture with features resembling those of his former teacher, Danti, too, participated in the politics of court posturing.

[169] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 131-133, asserts that this statue was Danti's response to his elimination from the Neptune competition and points to similarities between a drawing associated with the Neptune and the composition of the *Honor*. Even considering Vasari's assertion that Danti completed the sculpture rapidly, however, it would be difficult to argue that a sculptor with so little documented experience in marble prior to this statue and certainly no other monumental marble sculptures completed in Florence prior to this date could execute such a complicated composition in a new medium between October of 1560 (the date of Leone Leoni's letter about the competition) and the conclusion of the following year, especially considering that marble blocks were generally only transported upriver during the spring months.

[170] For the letter of 29 January 1560 that records the Servite friars' acceptance of these sculptures for the Bandinelli burial chapel, Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli*, 754, doc. 1324. For the components of the tomb, Pope-Hennessy, *Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, 3:169-170.

DANTI: SELF-FASHIONING AND *FIORENTINISMO*

While the allegorical import of the *Honor* sculpture best served Almeni's purposes as a retort against Bandinelli's accusations, the sculpture need not be limited to that single function or meaning. In fact, both the allegorical references to court politics and the sculpture's function as a demonstration of Danti's skill were intended for a shared audience.

The location of the *Honor* group in an interior courtyard of Almeni's private palazzo limited the viewers of this object to members of Almeni's own circle of artists, courtiers, and literary figures who were invited into his Via de' Servi palace.[171] This courtyard is reached only through a corridor that leads from the main entrance on the ground floor to the back of the palace. Pizzorusso argues that the sculpture was designed to be placed against a column in the courtyard because he sees only six of the eight possible viewpoints of the sculpture as relevant to understanding its allegorical narrative.[172] However, when one sees the sculpture in the round, especially noting Danti's attention to the straps that wrap around both figures and bind them together, it is difficult to argue that any of the viewpoints are unimportant. Danti would have known Cellini's *paragone* argument about a sculpture being viewed from eight different viewpoints or angles.[173] He surely would not have eliminated two of those viewpoints, especially

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[171] Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1584; reprint Milan: Edizioni Labor, 1967), 520: "Di sua mano sono le due figure cavate in un sol marmo, che son poste nel cortile del palagio del Cavaliere M. Vangelista Almeni, le quali dimostrano l'Honore, che ha sotto l'Inganno, lavorate con gran diligenza, & i capei ricci dell Honore sono di maniera traforati, che paion naturali."

[172] Pizzorusso, "Indagine su uno scultore," 152-156.

[173] Pizzorusso, "Indagine su uno scultore," 153. On Cellini's arguments for the superiority of sculpture, see Mendelsohn, *Paragoni*, 148, Appendix A; Jane Tylus, "Cellini, Michelangelo, and the Myth of Inimitability," in *Benvenuto Cellini: Sculptor, Goldsmith, Writer*, ed. Margaret A. Gallucci and Paolo Rossi (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 12-15.

because he used this work to demonstrate his ability to carve marble according to current dialogues about ideal sculpture composition.

Danti wove together the sculptural motifs of native Florentines to demonstrate his own fluency through the *Honor* sculpture. The literary term *fiorentinismo* can clarify the references to cinquecento sculpture traditions evident in this object. The history of visual language and that of spoken or written languages coalesce around this image and its place in the artistic culture of the Florentine court. The celebration of Michelangelo's poetry, a common theme and project of the Accademia Fiorentina, the literary academy founded by Cosimo in 1540, was an important component of the duke's cultural program of *fiorentinismo*.[174] At midcentury, the members of this literary academy adamantly responded to the *questione della lingua* in its defense of Florentine vernacular. The academicians viewed Michelangelo as a new Dante Alighieri. Associating the Michelangelo's mastery of the human figure with the grandeur of Dante's poetic style, they characterized both Florentines as exemplars of the *gran maniera*.[175] Pursuing *fiorentinismo* as a set of stylistic and linguistic goals was a shared program for Cosimo's academies, and to participate in ongoing rhetorical conversations about Florentine language required fluency. Patricia Reilly has called the mastery of Florentine visual language *lingua disegnata*, after Alessandro Allori's writings on disegno that insist both

[174] Frances E. Thomas, "'Cittadin nostro Fiorentino': Michelangelo and *Fiorentinismo* in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Florence," in *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art*. ed. Mary Rogers. (Brookfield, VT, and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 177-187; Massimiliano Rossi, "'...that naturalness and Florentinity (so to speak),' Bronzino: Language, Flesh and Painting," in *Bronzino, artist and poet at the court of the Medici*, ed. Carlo Falciani and Antonio Natali (Florence: Mandragora, 2010), 178-181. For the intersection between the visual arts at the Medici court and the Accademia Fiorentina's interest in *fiorentinismo*, see Alina Payne, "Vasari, Architecture, and the Origins of Historicizing Art," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 40 (2001): 58.

[175] Thomas, "'Cittadin nostro Fiorentino'," 183.

the practice and word are of Florentine origin.[176] Danti used *Honor Conquering Deceit* to showcase his fluency in sculptural *fiorentinismo*, by incorporating aspects of the styles and sculptural motifs of Bandinelli, Cellini, and Michelangelo.

The extraction of two figures from a single block of marble was a prized pursuit for sixteenth-century Florentine sculptors. The success of such two-figure groups testified to the skill of the sculptor as well as to his awareness of the tropes and paragons of sculpture practice.[177] The most significant precedent of this achievement in Florence was Michelangelo's marble *Victory* (Fig. 7), which remained in his Florentine workshop when he left for Rome in 1534.[178] Michael Cole has asserted that two-figure marble groups represented moralistic or allegorical variations on this theme of victory that Michelangelo had established, with the more elevated figure always depicted in the act of conquering or subduing the lower figure.[179] Pizzorusso described this type of configuration as associated with what he called theatrical competition at Cosimo's court—the competition of the figures in marble and also that between sculptors seeking commissions.[180] Sculptors from Bandinelli to Pierino da Vinci and Giambologna prided themselves on such multiple-figure groups in their Florentine works.[181]

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[176] Patricia Reilly, "Grand Designs: Alessandro Allori's Discussions on the Use of Drawing, Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists*, and Florentine Visual Vernacular" (Ph.D. diss, University of California, Berkeley, 1999), 6, 73-75. Reilly emphasizes that Allori's paintings in the Montauto chapel in Santissima Annunziata demonstrate "fluency in the Michelangelesque language of painting," 25.

[177] Cole, *Cellini and the Principles of Sculpture*, 85-89. Pope-Hennessy, *Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, 3:130-144. For the derision of Bandinelli's reliance on multiple marble pieces for the Laocoön and other sculptures, see Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 337-338; Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 6:174-175.

[178] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:165-166; Cristina Acidini, "Vincenzo Danti e Michelangelo," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 29; Pope-Hennessy, *Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, 3:433; Schlosser, "Aus der Bildnerwerkstatt," 76.

[179] Cole, *Cellini and the Principles of Sculpture*, 85-86; Pope-Hennessy, *Introduction to Italian Sculpture,* 3:99.

[180] Pizzorusso, "Onore," 302: "quella specie di concorso-farsa bandito da Cosimo I."

The *Honor* also demonstrates Danti's ability to balance his two-figure group visually and to master a particular block of marble. In his autobiography written in the late 1550s, Cellini criticized Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* group because Bandinelli's placement of Cacus in front of Hercules causes the group to lean forward (Fig. 8).[182] By so closely intertwining his figures and collapsing the figure of *Deceit* directly under the lithe body of *Honor*, Danti created an entirely vertical composition, so the footprint of its base even avoids the pyramidal bulk of Michelangelo's *Victory*. The narrowness of the base and the act of confining the group to a vertical column of material represent an acknowledgment of the original dimensions of the block, yet they also suggest a flourish of ability.[183] Dimitrios Zikos proposed this block was a remnant of another unknown project, a condition that, if true, would further connect Danti's practice to the legendary sculptural feats of Florentines such as Michelangelo's *David*.[184] In his use of the block's narrow, columnar dimensions, Danti demonstrated that he needed no additional marble to balance this two-figure group; he had conquered the block as well as the celebrated

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[181] Pizzorusso, "Onore," 302; Pope-Hennessy, *Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, 3:130-144.

[182] Benvenuto Cellini, *Vita*, part 2, LXX, 566, [Cellini quoting himself]: "'ben si vede che la cade innanzi più d'un terzo di braccio: ché questo solo si è 'l maggiore e il più incomportabile errore che faccino quei maestri di dozzina plebe'.'" See also Cole, *Cellini and the Principles of Sculpture*, 101.

[183] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 138. Cole, *Ambitious Form*, 107, states that the *Honor* statue "demonstrates that sculptors could undertake compressed compositions by choice," and he suggests that Danti manipulated the limits of the marble block to further aggrandize his figures, "creating the illusion that he had worked on a larger scale even than his materials allowed."

[184] Dimitrios Zikos, "Limina incerta: Filosofia e technica del 'non finito' nell'opera di Vincenzo Danti", in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 285: "Si ha l'impressione, osservando attentamente l'Onore, che Vincenzo si servì di un marmo non cavato apposta per lui, ma che si dovette piuttosto adattare a un blocco a disposizione. Lo scultore dette comunque proba di grande virtuosismo."

compositional motif.[185] Cole explored a similar assertion of sculptural performance in his description of Cellini's approach to his *Apollo*:

> Implying victory over both the stone itself and the dominant mode of Florentine marble sculpture, the *Apollo* asserts a new field for Cellini's own artistic force, the command of a field beyond that of a metal-worker.[186]

The *Apollo* in question, probably completed by Cellini in the 1550s, however, is not considered one of Cellini's best works.[187] If Danti were attempting to similarly prove his abilities, the praise garnered by the *Honor* sculpture likely prompted the kind of envy evident in Cellini's poetry fragments about him. The *Honor* can be read as Danti's assertion of his compositional and allegorical competency within a local artistic network that focused on the production of these two-figure sculptures with a master-subject configuration. Following the failure of his first attempt at such a group in the *Hercules and Antaeus* fountain, Danti regained the early momentum of his Florentine career as he conquered this block compositionally, mastered its allegorical subject matter, and proved his skill in the manipulation of marble.[188]

Danti also included stylistic elements and motifs associated with well-established Florentine sculptors in the *Honor* to demonstrate his fluency in the visual languages of the Medici court. In his dissertation on Danti, Summers connected the Perugian's visual language in marble with that of Bandinelli. He pointed both to the contrasts in surface

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[185] Cole has interpreted Michelangelo's poem "Non ha l'ottimo Artista alcun concetto" (as well as the lecture that Benedetto Varchi delivered on it) as an argument that "the starting contours of a block present the excellent artist with no limitations." Cole, "*Figura Sforzata*," 533.

[186] Cole, *Cellini and the Principles of Sculpture*, 117.

[187] Cole, *Cellini and the Principles of Sculpture*, 83.

[188] The production of sculptures to prove one's skill seems to have been a popular pursuit in mid-cinquecento Florence. In the late 1550s, as Danti was preparing the *Onore* as a testament to his skills in marble, Giambologna and Ammannati both produced full-sized, free-standing bronze figures to demonstrate their skills, both for private patrons. See Cole, *Ambitious Form*, 51-58.

detail and "the relatively stocky proportions of the *Onore*… [as] reminiscent of Bandinelli."[189] In both cases, Summers compared these characteristics of the *Honor* sculpture to the marble reliefs created by the Bandinelli workshop in which Danti had worked. The young Perugian probably did not assist in carving of these reliefs for the cathedral choir, as his visit to Florence occurred before they were well underway, but he would have remained connected to his fellow students in Bandinelli's academy (Fig. 9). In Danti's efforts to incorporate citations of important sculptural styles from Florence in the mid-*cinquecento*, his references to the body-types, poses, and finish of the choir reliefs would reinforce his familiarity with the major workshops in town. In addition to describing the ways Danti cited aspects of Bandinelli's style, Summers also noted the sculpture's similarities to marble sculptures by Cellini.[190] Vasari praised the individually articulated and deeply carved curls of *Honor*'s hair,[191] an effect that Pizzorusso connected to the type of curl portrayed in the *Ganymede* by Cellini or his workshop (Fig. 10).[192]

Most importantly for his pursuit of a Florentine visual language, Danti clearly cited Michelangelo's Florentine sculptures in the *Honor Conquering Deceit*. These works were the basis of the *fiorentinismo* cultivated by the literary academy, which elevated Michelangelo to the status of an inimitable artist yet, paradoxically, one worthy of imitation.[193] Vasari promoted the visual emulation of Michelangelo as a standard for

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[189] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 135, 138.

[190] Ibid., 134-135."

[191] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:631: "...onde alla testa di quell'Onore che è bella, fece i capelli ricci, tanto ben traforati, che paiono naturali e propri, mostrando oltre che ciò di benissimo intendere gl'ignudi."

[192] On Ganymede's authorship and style, see Cole, *Cellini and the Principles of Sculpture*, 161-65. For the comparison of the curls on the heads of *Onore* and *Ganymede*, see Zikos, "Limina incerta," 286.

[193] Tylus, "Cellini, Michelangelo, and the Myth of Inimitability," 7-8, 11-13; Ruffini, *Art without an Author*, 39-40, 61-71. For the difference between "quotation and sophisticated imitation," see John

Florentine artists to unite them in a single project of cultivating Michelangelo's *disegno* and to separate them from other artistic factions.[194] This sculpture by Danti adopts some of the most famous and unique motifs from Michelangelo's oeuvre, from the two-figure composition itself to the straps that bind the bodies of both *Honor* and *Deceit*.[195] Pizzorusso has also characterized Danti's approach to carving into the marble from each successive face of the original block as an acknowledgement of Michelangelo's technique.[196]

Danti's references to the works of Michelangelo constitute the primary theme of Danti studies in the past century.[197] John Pope-Hennessy characterized Danti as "an admirer of Michelangelo" in his survey of Italian sculpture.[198] The most influential twentieth-century study of Danti's oeuvre, by David Summers, even includes Michelangelo in its title:"The Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti: A Study in the Influence of

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Shearman, *Only Connect... Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance*, The National Gallery of Art, Bollingen Series 35, 37 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 233-239.

[194] Pilliod, "The Influence of Michelangelo," 34; Tylus, "Cellini, Michelangelo, and the Myth of Inimitability," 14-15. Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 275-276, has shown that Vasari priviledged the borrowing of motifs that are legible as citations but that also draw attention to differences between source material and the new author's own inventions.

[195] Acidini, "Vincenzo Danti e Michelangelo," 29: "Dall'esempio di Michelangelo viene semmai lo slancio della gamba sinistra dell'eroe piegata a conculcare l'atterrato, e il serpentino avvolgimento del nastro che gli cinge i fianchi e il torso, passando sulla spalla fino all amino che ne impugna un capo, a esso appesa." Also, Alois Grünwald, *Florentiner Studien* (Prague: publisher unknown, 1914), 21-23.

[196] Pizzorusso, "Onore," 302: "progressivamente da ogni lato, preservando la percezione delle facce del blocco originario."

[197] Danti himself suggested this line of inquiry when he noted his own debt to Michelangelo's works in the introduction to his *Il Primo libro del trattato delle perfette proporzioni di tutte le cose che imitare e ritrarre si possano con l'arte del disegno* (Florence: publisher unknown, 1567), 1-2. Republished in Paola Barrochi, *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento, fra manierismo e Controriforma* (Bari: Gius. Laterza, 1960-1962), 1:209-210. See also Schlosser, "Aus der Bildnerwerkstatt," 77.

[198] Pope-Hennessey, *Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, 3:99.

Michelangelo and the Ideals of the Maniera." The only exhibition dedicated to Danti's work also incorporated his debt to Michelangelo into its title, "I Grandi Bronzi del Battistero: L'arte di Vincenzo Danti, discepolo di Michelangelo."[199] Scholars usually cast Danti's objects as responses to Michelangelo's sculptures or his *disegno* as a reflection of Michelangelo's *disegno*, in order to better understand Michelangelo's legacy rather than to frame Danti's desire to situate his sculptural competencies in the context of Florentine artistic practice. The *Honor* sculpture, so long celebrated as an archetype of *maniera* energy and composition, is better understood as an emulation of Bandinelli, Cellini, and Michelangelo as Danti worked to show his proficiency in the visual language of Florence.[200]

HONOR CONQUERING DECEIT: RECEPTION AND AUDIENCE

Danti proved his material and compositional abilities in the *Honor* group, and the sculpture was praised in texts by Timoteo Bottonio and later by Vasari. Cellini's poem had trumpeted Danti's failure with the *Hercules*, but Timoteo Bottonio composed a sonnet in 1561 that publically praised this marble group made for Almeni:

> Alto pensier, saggio concetto, e degno,
> Signor, l'Alma v'impresse, allorché avvinto
> Nel proprio laccio vide, e 'n terra spinto
> Da vero onor fallace inganno, e indegno.
>
> Indi la dotta Man, l'industre Ingegno
> Del nuovo Fidia nostro, or l'ave effinto
> In vivo marmo, e puro; ond'Egli ha vinto
> Tutti i miglior, ch'invidia n'hanno, e sdegno.

[199] 16 April – 7 September 2008, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

[200] Shearman, *Only Connect,* 230-31, for this type of comparison between works, which "to the knowing spectator, has the force of a claim to a place in a great tradition."

Quanto beltà, quanto splendor si vede
Nel volto giovenil, nei chiari lumi
Di Lui, ch'è di virtù sola mercede!
Come ne scopre ben, che sogni, e fumi
Son nostre gioie, e che tutt'altro eccede
L'onor, ch'han l'Alme in Ciel tra gli alti Numi![201]

A lofty thought, a wise and worthy conception, Sir, your Soul impressed upon you, when it was fallacious and unworthy Deceit tied up in his own rope and pused to the ground by true Honor.

Then the learned hand, the industrious genius of our new Phidias, has now represented it in pure and living marble; by which he has conquered all the best, who have envy and scorn for it [Honor],

How much beauty and splendor one sees in the youthful face, in the bright eyes of Him who is the sole reward of virtue!

As is well revealed, that dreams and illusions are our joys, and that Honor exceeds all other things that the Spirits in Heaven have among the exalted deities.

Bottonio, also a Perugian and a friar at the Dominican convent of San Marco, had previously written a poem to Danti to console him after the failed casting of the *Hercules and Antaeus* group.[202] In this sonnet, he praised Danti's skill and intellect to the point of calling him the new Phidias. Such a label was certainly a trope for praising Renaissance sculptors; the reference reminds readers of sculptor's goal: fame.[203] Bottonio's sonnet not

[201] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 369-370, citing Bottonio, *Poesie sacre*, Perugia Biblioteca Augusta, Mss. G 73; Schlosser, "Aus der Bildnerwerkstatt der Renaissance," 76. Punctuation has been slightly revised here for the sake of clarity.

[202] Bottonio later taught metaphysics, logic and technical sciences in Florence. See, Vittor Ivo Comparato. "Timoteo Bottoni," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (1917) 13:487-488. Despite the dating of the sonnet in its heading, this date seems to refer to the completion date for the statue since Bottonio himself was in Rome between 1560 and 1562. For a discussion of Danti's own sonnet in response to the one Bottonio composed about the *Hercules* group, see Chapter 4 below.

[203] For the association of Greek sculptors, especially Phidias, with the concept of fame, see Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 73-74.

only lauded the *Honor* as heaven-inspired and a sign of genius, he also pointed to the spirit of competition and envy so pervasive among the sculptors serving the Medici court. He characterized its completion as a triumph over those envious detrators. Bottonio further described the sculpture as an accomplishment that reveals Danti's *virtù*, a theme which later biographers also attached to the *Honor* group. As a Perugian resident in the Medici capital, Bottonio may also have been a friend to Almeni, so that this sonnet praised both the patron of this statue and his artist-client.

After chronicling the failed casting of the *Hercules and Antaeus* fountain, Vasari described the *Honor* as Danti's assertion of his *virtù* over the will of fortune:

> He then turned to marble sculpture, so that his labours would not be dependent on the will of Fortune. Within a short time he worked two figures in a single piece of marble, namely Honour standing over Falsehood, and did them with such diligence as to seem never to have handled anything but chisels and mallet. He made the hair on the head of Honour very elaborate, and hollowed it out so well that it seems natural and real; and he showed too an excellent understanding of the nude.[204]

Vasari, thus, established the tradition of discussing the *Onore* as a redemptive object for Danti himself. A two-figure group representing the theme of triumph, hewn from a single block, the sculpture certainly established Danti's career as a marble carver and elicited praise for his skill in that medium. When Vasari praised this sculpture in 1568, he and Danti had already worked together for a decade. Yet, the sculpture also testifies to Danti's early commitment to learning the native visual languages of Florentine art and to becoming one of the network of artists serving Cosimo, competent in the style and subject matter expected of the members of this network.[205] In the *Honor*, Danti had

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[204] Translation of Vasari from Pope-Hennessy, *Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, 3:485.

[205] Summers notes the *cinquecento* two-figure triumph group built on the *quattrocento* Florentine tradition of such sculptures such as Donatello's *Judith and Holofernes* and Verrocchio's *David*. See Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 135-36.

produced a statue that proclaimed his readiness to participate in this network. The overtly Florentine style of this sculpture paired with his participation in the competition for the *Neptune* fountain speak to his determination to prove himself capable of serving the particular needs of the Florentine court.

Through the brokerage of Almeni and his own professional successes in Florence, Danti shifted his persona from his very early Florentine label as "the one who used to stay with Cavaliere Bandinelo" to his later identification as "Messer Vincentio Danti, the Perugian sculptor in the house of Messer Sforza."[206] The brokerage of Almeni together with his close friend Vasari would shape the next decade of Danti's career in Florence, when he worked almost exclusively for Duke Cosimo and in the medium of marble.[207] Through his advocacy for Danti, Almeni reminded his friends and allies at court, including Vincenzo Borghini, Laura Battifera, and Giorgio Vasari, of his ability to find and promote up-and-coming artists.[208] For Danti, his achievement in marble reached this same audience, one that significantly impacted his success. Vasari and Borghini, the most influential and powerful contributors to Cosimo's visual programs, supported Danti's career. As friends of Almeni, they secured commissions for Vincenzo out of their affection for "Messer Sforza."[209] In a letter to Vasari written in 1563, Borghini described assisting Danti both for the sculptor's own talents and out of love for Almeni:

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[206] Vasari- Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:49: Giorgio Vasari in Florence instructed Francesco Busini in Pisa to give an enclosed letter "a Messer Vincentio Danti scultor Perugino in casa Messer Sforza," 24 May, 1563.

[207] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 67; Davis, "Working for Vasari," 247.

[208] For Almeni's connections to Vasari, see Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 6:230-231; Davis, "Working for Vasari," 247-249. For his connections to Laura Battiferi, see Victoria Kirkham, *Laura Battifera and her Literary Circle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 22.

[209] See below, Chapter 2.

> The Perugian gave me a design that is not dissatisfying, and I will help him, as much because he seems to me a good young man as for love of messer Sforzo, as you know how much affection I have for him.[210]

Clientage and brokerage relationships function in a multivalent way, as does this statue; they benefit both patron-broker, Almeni, and client-artist, Danti. As an object created for Almeni, the *Honor* group was visible and available to the Florentine network to which Almeni wanted to demonstrate his standing at court and in which Danti also wanted to participate.

The interpretation of the *Honor* as a demonstration of Florentine fluency rather than a plea for professional redemption aligns with the fact that Danti, rather than begging for commissions, had been continuously employed by the Medici court from the time of his arrival in Florence. Danti had completed small works for spaces designated for the use of Duke Cosimo and his administration in the same years as his work on the *Honor* group. The *Moses and the Brazen Serpent* panel (Fig. 10), another of Danti's early works in Florence, was also part of Sforza Almeni's collection of art.[211] In its combination of dynamic high and low relief and crowds of twisting bodies, Danti had clearer opportunity to assert his prowess as a bronze caster, although, significantly, the professional founder Zanobi Lastricati appears in several documents as Danti's collaborator through the early 1560s.[212] Danti's early career in Florence benefitted from his connections these artists and courtiers who supported his success.

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[210] Frey-Vasari, *Nachlass*, 1:757. Vincenzo Borghini in Florence to Giorgio Vasari in Venice, 22 May 1563: "… il Perugino, che mi ha conferito un suo concetto da non dispiacere; et io ne lo aiutero, si perche mi pare buon giovane, si per amor di messer Sforzo, al quale sapete quanto io sia affetionato."

[211] Summers, "Chronology," 193-196.

[212] Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti, 1530-1576*, 29, 54, 11; Santi, *Vincenzo Danti scultore*, 18, 38, 40; Zikos, "Limina incerta," 277-279; Davis, "Bassorilievi in bronzo e in marmo di Vincenzo Danti," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 139-144; Davis, "Mosè e il serpente di bronzo," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 350, cat. 19.

EGNAZIO DANTI'S ARRIVAL, SFORZA ALMENI'S DEATH, AND THE *ARRINGATORE*

Neither payment records nor documented instances of patronage can indicate a specific level of professional status; we must look to Danti's reputation among his peers and the commissions he received to ascertain his standing at court in the first few years after his arrival in Florence. Danti's allies continued to facilitate his career rather than let it stagnate after the failure of the *Hercules and Antaeus* fountain. As Danti advanced professionally in the early 1560s, he began to advocate for others. He and Almeni together seem to have acted as brokers for his brother, Egnazio Danti, at the Medici court. Trained as a mathematician, Egnazio came to Florence as a Dominican friar and made his home at the convent of San Marco.[213] Within a few years, both brothers were at work on long-term, labor-intensive, and lucrative visual programs for Duke Cosimo.

Vincenzo Danti's career continued to flourish and he received his first major court commission in marble, the tomb of Carlo de' Medici in Prato, in 1563, just three years after Bandinelli died.[214] In the same year, Cosimo also engaged Egnazio to create a cycle of maps for the new Sala delle Carte Geografiche, in the Palazzo Vecchio, a project he worked on during his entire career in Florence.[215] With major projects for the ducal court

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[213] Thomas Settle, "Egnazio Danti," 27; Francesca Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 31. Egnazio also appears in the transcribed rolls of salaried members of the court in 1574 (ASF Manoscritti 321, 83).

[214] Charles Davis, "*Disegno*, lo scultore all'opera: delineare, inquadrare, progettare," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 235-236; Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti scultore, 1530-1576,* 82-83; Santi, *Vincenzo Danti (1530-1576),* 48-49; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 154-155.

[215] Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps,* 17-32; Mark Rosen, "A New Chronology of the Construction and Restoration of the Medici Guardaroba in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 53 (2009): 285, 294-300; and Mark Rosen, "Don Miniato Pitti and the Second Life of a Scientist's Tools in Cinquecento Florence," *Nuncius* 18 (2003): 5-9.

secured through the connections the two brothers had made with Almeni and his circle of friends at court,[216] the Danti brothers began to demonstrate support for each another's professional success.[217] Little seems to have stood in the way of their careers in Florence during the 1560s. Vincenzo Danti was one of the earliest members of the Accademia del Disegno and consistently held leadership positions.[218] He was also one of the few visual artists admitted to the Accademia Fiorentina.[219] Thomas Settle and Karen-edis Barzman have argued that Egnazio Danti delivered lectures on geometry and design to these same Florentine academies.[220] The brothers' shared academic identities both united their pursuits and bolstered their professional identities as capable polymaths.

The Danti family worked together to maintain their favor at court even in the absence of their most powerful ally, after Cosimo stabbed Almeni to death in May 1566. In the next three months, Vincenzo and Egnazio worked with their father, Giulio, to smuggle a large Etruscan statue from the lands around Perugia to Florence for Cosimo.[221] The *Arringatore*, a nearly life-sized Etruscan bronze (Fig. 11), made its way from Pila,

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[216] Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 29; Rick Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini and Invenzione: The Florentine Apparato of 1565," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 44 (1981): 62; J. R. Woodhouse, "Towards a Revival of Borghini Scholarship: A Review Article," *Modern Language Review* 95 (2000): 85-90.

[217] See Chapter 3.

[218] Danti held the offices of consul (1564, 1568, 1570, 1572), chamberlain (1565), counselor (1566), festival organizer (1567), and auditor (1570). Luigi Zangheri, ed., *Gli Accademici del Disegno: Elenco alfabetico* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2000), 100-101

[219] See Chapter 4.

[220] Barzman, *Florentine Academy,* 152-153; Karen-edis Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist," *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 5-6 (1986-1987): 16-17; Settle, "Egnazio Danti and Mathematical Education," 33-34; Charles Dempsey, "Some observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna during the Later Sixteenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 557.

[221] Mauro Cristofani, "Per una storia del collezionismo archaeologico nella Toscana granducale. I. I grandi bronzi," *Prospettiva* 17 (1979): 8-10, n24-39; Mancini, "Vincenzo Perugino," 53-55, n87-95.

near Lake Trasimeno, to Florence in the fall of 1566.[222] The statue represented the largest gift to the duke that anyone in the family presented him, a bid for continued patronage issued through the participation of the whole family. The *Arringatore* came from the area around Perugia, reinforcing Cosimo's ties to that region following the loss of his closest Perugian advisor.[223] The bronze sculpture fit tidily into Cosimo's collection of Etruscan objects that reinforced his identity as ruler of a unified Tuscany.[224]In this instance, the Danti family acted collectively; they considered their success and status in Florence linked. As non-Florentines working at the Medici court, they acted to retain professional standing and access to the duke through a gift that communicated their fluency in the cultural capital of the court and their knowledge of Cosimo's own identity and that of his state.

During his early years in Florence, Danti established brokerage relationships that would continue to determine the trajectory of his professional advancement. He was employed for sixteen years, thanks to his connections with Almeni and his friend Giorgio Vasari. Through their brokerage, Danti was granted increasingly visible commissions.

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[222] Mancini, "Vincenzo Perugino," 53-54.

[223] For the later installations of the Arringatore in the Palazzo Pitti and the Uffizi, see Andrea M. Gáldy, "Medici Collections of Dynastic Ambition: Arms, Armour, and Antiquities," in *Collecting and Dynastic Ambition*, ed. Susan Bracken and Andrea M. Gáldy (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 49-51l; Cristofani, "Per una storia del collezionismo archaeologico," 4.

[224] Cristofani, "Per una storia del collezionismo archaeologico," 8-10, nn. 24-39; Andrea Gáldy, *Cosimo I de' Medici as Collector: Antiquities and Archaeology in Sixteenth-Century Florence* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009): xxiv-xiv; Marina Martelli, "Il 'mito' Etrusco nel principato mediceo: nascita di una coscienza critica," in *Le arti del Principato Mediceo*, Specimen 6 (Florence: SPES, 1980), 3-6; and Giovanni Cipriani, "Ideologia politica e 'revival' etrusco," in *Le arti del Principato Mediceo*, Specimen 6 (Florence: SPES, 1980), 9-17.

Although he made frequent trips to Perugia during his time in Florence, Danti continually asserted that his skills and capabilities were particularly suited to a Florentine context.[225]

[225] While this dissertation focuses on his Florentine career and negotiation of the Medici network of brokers and artist-clients, Danti in fact operated as sculptor and architect in both towns, eventually returning to Perugia permanently in 1576. Sforza Almeni applied to Cosimo on Danti's behalf for permission that Danti might return to Perugia in March 1559 for ten days at the request of the Priors of that city. ASF Guidi 556, ins. 15, n. 13, published by Waldman, "Recent Danti Exhibition," 686.

Chapter 2: Collaborations between Danti and Vasari: Individual and Collective Success

Vasari had become the primary administrator of the visual arts in Florence by the mid 1550s.[226] As one of Vasari's many artist-clients, Vincenzo Danti proved a reliable and capable contributor to court projects. This chapter addresses Danti's role as an employee for the Medici court by examining his commissions that Vasari supervised. Vasari coordinated the majority of Danti's projects in Florence, and his support and oversight of these commissions were critical to Danti's success.[227] The history of the sculpture commissions that unite the two artists clarifies both Vasari's role as an administrator and Danti's professional trajectory from dependent client to an increasingly valued asset within Cosimo's art bureaucracy.

The sculptures by Danti that Vasari directed reveal the Perugian's efforts to assert his abilities and his growing success in Florence, and the commissions can be divided into two categories. Danti's independent commissions, those granted to him alone, demonstrate his dependence on Vasari. Group projects, designed by Vasari to which Danti contributed, illuminate the larger context in which Danti worked.[228] Group commissions can be further divided into subcategories by their patrons. Danti contributed

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[226] Elizabeth Pilliod, "Representation, Misrepresentation, and Non-Representation: Vasari and his Competitors," in *Vasari's Florence: Artists and Literati at the Medicean Court*, ed. Philip Jacks (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998)," 49-50; Hermann Voss, *Painting of the Late Renaissance in Rome and Florence*, rev. and trans. Susanne Pelzel (San Francisco: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 1997), 2:13; Valentina Conticelli, "Giorgio Vasari al servizio del duca (1554-1574): breve profilo," in *Vasari, gli Uffizi e il duca*, ed. Claudia Conforti (Florence, Giunti, 2011): 31-39.

[227] Charles Davis, "Working for Vasari in Palazzo Vecchio," in *Giorgio Vasari tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica*, ed. G.C. Garfagnani (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1985), 247. Despite the singularity of this broker-client relationship for Danti, no scholar has closely examined or tracked the projects that involved both of these non-Florentine artists.

[228] Davis, "Working for Vasari," 247-248, first outlined the importance of Vasari's role in Danti's career and briefly listed all objects to be discussed in this chapter and the next.

sculptures to two collaborative projects organized by the Accademia del Disegno and two such projects created for the Medici princes. Vasari designed these group commissions in accordance with his vision of artistic unity, exemplified by the Accademia del Disegno.[229] Collaborative commissions became a marker of inclusion and success for the artists who served the Medici. Because I present these commissions by category, this chapter is not a strictly chronological or stylistic approach to Danti's Florentine oeuvre.[230] Each subcategory reveals different aspects of the client-broker relationship between Vasari and Danti. Their collaborations, which worked to the benefit of both artists, disclose the dynamics of professional success and failure at court. Vasari consistently chose to employ Danti on Medici projects and increasingly relied on his skills. Likewise, Danti's increased participation in these projects demonstrates his growing prominence in the corps of court artists.

Vasari and Danti also shared social ties that drove their collaborative work on ducal commissions. These friendships, like the commissions themselves, often had overtones of cliquish group membership.[231] The two men were connected socially via the brokerage of Sforza Almeni and through their work with Vincenzo Borghini.[232] Almeni,

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[229] Marco Ruffini, *Art without an Author: Vasari's Lives and Michelangelo's Death* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 2-4, 36-38.

[230] On chronology and style, see J. David Summers, "The Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," PhD diss, Yale University, 1969.

[231] For artistic cliques in cinquecento Florence, see Pilliod, "Representation," 31-50. Dale Kent, *Friendship, Love, and Trust in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2009), 5-8, has pointed out that the attempt to separate personal friendship from professional and political connections is an anachronistic exercise.

[232] For these artists and court figures, friendship always included the negotiations of status and interdependence related to brokerage relationships. See Janie Cole, "Cultural Clientism and Brokerage Networks in Early Modern Florence and Rome: New Correspondence between the Barberini and Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007): 730-731, 738-741. For ties between Vasari and Sforza Almeni, Charles Davis, "Frescoes by Vasari for Sforza Almeni, 'Coppiere' to

Vasari, and Danti had all succeeded at the Medici court despite or because of their non-Florentine origins.[233] Borghini, the prior of the Ospedale degli Innocenti, linguist, iconographer, and historiographer to the Medici court, was often an additional participant in the distribution and direction of commissions.[234] Borghini was the iconographer and Vasari was director of production and overseer for most Medici commissions of the 1560s and 1570s. Only with the good favor of these two men could Danti have hoped for success as a sculptor to the Medici court. With Almeni and Vasari, Borghini also facilitated Danti's professional advancement. Because Borghini and Vasari worked so closely together to direct artistic programs for the duke, in some cases it is impossible to distinguish between their brokerage on behalf of Danti.[235] Sforza Almeni also connected Borghini and Vasari socially, and all three men may have worked together to promote Danti's professional advancement.[236] In 1563, Borghini stated his willingness to help

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Duke Cosimo I," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 24 (1980): 140-147; Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 6: 230-232.

[233] Part of this material in Anne Proctor, "Vasari, Danti, and Sforza Almeni: Clientage and Brokerage at the Medici Court," paper delivered October 28, 2012 at Vasari/500 Conference at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[234] For Borghini's role at the Medici court, see Philip Gavitt, "Charity and State Building in Cinquecento Florence: Vincenzio Borghini as Administrator of the Ospedale degli Innocenti," *Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997): 230-270; Rick Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini and the Impresa," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989): 85-110; Rick Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini and Invenzione: The Florentine Apparato of 1565," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981): 57-58; Eve Borsook, "Art and Politics at the Medici Court, II: The Baptism of Filippo de' Medici in 1577," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 13 (1967): 98.

[235] For example, Vasari coordinated the ephemeral decorations for Johanna of Austria's 1565 Entrata but Borghini seems to have worked more closely with Danti on the equestrian sculpture for that project, for which see below.

[236] Davis, "Working for Vasari," 248-249.

Danti "per amor di messer Sforzo."[237] Borghini's support and his close collaborations with Duke Cosimo brought Danti increasingly prestigious commissions into the 1570s.[238]

VASARI AS COSIMO'S ARTS ADMINISTRATOR

During the 1540s, when Cosimo's majordomo Pierfrancesco Riccio oversaw the major arts commissions in Florence, Vasari found himself out of favor and so was forced to find work in other cities.[239] When Riccio, ill and mad, left the court in 1553,[240] Vasari saw an opportunity to return to Medici service. As he worked to reinsert himself into the Florentine court circle, Vasari reached out to three of Cosimo's close counselors, Sforza Almeni, Bernardetto Minerbetti, and Giovanni Battista Ricasoli.[241] Vasari and Almeni

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[237] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:757.

[238] Borghini was key to Danti's commission for the *Beheading of the Baptist* group of bronze figures for the Baptistery as well as the iconographical program for Prince Francesco's Studiolo. See below.

[239] Patricia Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari, Art and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 116-197; Massimo Firpo, "Cosimo de Medici and Giorgio Vasari" in *Vasari, gli Uffizi, e il duca*, 25-28; Pilliod, "Representation," 30-50.

[240] Alessandro Cecchi, "Il maggiordomo ducale Pierfrancesco Riccio e gli artisti della corte medicea," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 42 (1998): 113; Gigliola Fragnito, "Un pratese alla corte di Cosimo I: Riflessioni e materiali per un profilo di Pierfrancesco Riccio," *Archivio storico pratese* 62 (1986): 52-56.

[241] In correspondence with these Medici secretaries, Vasari stated that returning to Florence and working for Duke Cosimo were his most treasured goals. The correspondence between these men is full of patronage language of praise and friendship. See Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:365 (Ricasoli to Vasari): "How much was the gentleness and sweetness, which I have taken from your most loving letter," ("Quanta è stata la dolcezza e la suavita, che io ho presa della amorevolissima lettera vostra,"); 1:367 (Vasari to Ricasoli): "love me as usual, that I love and will love and will always honor your Lordship," ("amatemi al solito, ch'io amo et amerò et osserverò sempre la Signoria Vostra,"); 1:366 (Ricasoli to Vasari, September 16, 1553): "I communicated your desire to messer Sforza and, between he and me, we will try to make some good position [for you] and within a few days you will be advised about everything." ("Ho communicato con messer Sforza il desiderio vostro et fra lui et me vedreno di fare qualche buono offitio; et di tutto fra pochi giorni sarete avvisato voi.") This correspondence also mentioned in Firpo, "Cosimo de Medici and Giorgio Vasari," 28; Conticelli, "Giorgio Vasari al servizio del duca," 31.

had met as young men when they served Duke Alessandro de' Medici.[242] Perhaps due to their shared history, Vasari wrote most often to Almeni to express his desire to return to Medici service. He received the commission for a series of allegorical frescoes for the façade of Almeni's Florentine palace in 1553.[243] This project gave Vasari his first major commission in Florence in over a decade, and Almeni's patronage returned him to the service of Medici courtiers if not yet directly to that of the Medici themselves.[244]

Vasari soon moved to Florence and quickly advanced within the circle of artists serving Cosimo.[245] Following the death of Cosimo's architect, Giovan Battista del Tasso, in 1555,[246] Vasari assumed the coordination of the renovation and decoration of the apartments in the Palazzo Vecchio as part of its transformation into the ducal palace.[247]

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[242] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 6:230.

[243] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:368-379. This correspondence includes a series of changes in the visual program, but the main themes remained constant: gifts exchanged between Perugia and Florence, with Lake Trasimeno giving fish to the Arno; the ages of man; and the duties and rewards of a courtier's service to a prince. The chiaroscuro frescoes no longer exist, although Gunther and Christel Thiem reconstructed the visual program in 1964, based on Vasari's description in Gherardi's vita: Gunther & Cristel Thiem, *Toskanische Fassaden-Dekoration*, 35-37, 131-133. In his letters to Almeni, Vasari also reiterated his desire to return to Florence permanently as in late September 1553, when he wrote "I talked to ambassador Serristori about my project…and he too wants me to come to serve there and live with my family continuously in Florence …"; Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:369-370.

[244] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 6:231. Almeni had already renovated the palazzo, a gift from Duke Cosimo, and installed the Medici-Toledo arms at the corner of via de' Servi and via del Castellaccio; Leonardo Ginori Lisci, *The Palazzi of Florence*, 439-441. For Almeni's role in securing a ducal pardon for il Doceno (Cristofano Gherardi) so that he might complete this facade, see Chapter 1. Vasari had last created public works in Florence for Charles V's entrata to the city in 1536. For the chronology of Vasari's major works, see Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*, 9-19.

[245] Firpo, "Cosimo de Medici and Giorgio Vasari," 27, attributes Vasari's success to his "straordinaria capacità di lavoro e rapidità di esecuzione."

[246] Pilliod, "Representation," 43. For Vasari's description of these events, Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 6:91, 7:25.

[247] Conticelli, "Giorgio Vasari al servizio del duca," 31, describes this work at the Palazzo Vecchio as "prima degli Uffizi, il banco di prova per Vasari… che cementò l'affiatata collaborazione tra l'artista e Cosimo." See also Paola Tinagli, "Claiming a Place in History: Giorgio Vasari's Ragionamenti and the Primacy of the Medici," in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001): 63-76; Henk Th. van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici and his*

For this project, he directed a group of carefully selected artists, setting a pattern that characterized the next fifteen years of court projects.[248] Vasari's direction of Medici art commissions coincided with an outpouring of ducal patronage. Vasari ensured his success and the success of the projects under his direction by establishing a network of loyal artist-clients dependent upon him.[249] The multiple projects that artists such as Jan van der Straet (Giovanni Stradano or Stradanus), Giovanni Battista Naldini, and Bartolommeo Ammannati completed under Vasari's oversight attest to build and to maintain a reliable corps of artists.[250]

Rather than draw clients from established workshops in Florence, Vasari often chose to employ artists from outside the city such as Van der Straet, Marco da Faenza, and Vincenzo Danti.[251] By facilitating the careers of this clientele of non-Florentines, Vasari avoided the antagonistic factions of the Florentine workshops, characterized by

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Self-Representation in Florentine Art and Culture, trans. Andrew P. McCormick (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 18-31; Janet Cox-Rearick, "Art at the Court of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici (1537-1574)" in *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with Detroit Institute of Arts, 2002): 39-43; Ettore Allegri and Alessandro Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e i Medici: guida storica*. (Florence: S.P.E.S., 1980), 63-177; Paola Barocchi, *Vasari pittore* (Milan: Edizioni per il Club del Libro, 1964), 38-53; Julian Kliemann, *Gesta dipinte: La grande decorazione nelle dimore italiane dal Quattrocento al Seicento* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editore, 1993), 69-77.

[248] Edmund Pillsbury, "The Sala Grande Drawings by Vasari and His Workshop: Some Documents and New Attributions," *Master Drawings* 14 (1976): 127, 138.

[249] Elizabeth Pilliod, "The Influence of Michelangelo: Pontormo, Bronzino and Allori" in *Reactions to the Master: Michelangelo's Effect on Art and Artists in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis and Paul Joannides (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 33-34. Pilliod noted that Vasari "deflected attention from lineages such as that of Pontormo, his pupil Bronzino, and Bronzino's pupil Allori," in his efforts to privilege the allegiance to the court and to impose "a fictitious unity on these artists."

[250] Early works with Vasari: Stradano and Naldini contributed to the Palazzo Vecchio frescoes, Ammannati worked under Vasari's direction on the Fountain of Juno for Palazzo Vecchio. Later, all contributed to Francesco's Studiolo. See Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*.

[251] This observation grows from Elizabeth Pilliod's works about Vasari's reaction to artistic factions within Florence. See Pilliod, "Influence of Michelangelo," and "Representation."

the feuding personalities of Cellini and Bandinelli.[252] Foreign artists were also dependent on Vasari, and through their loyalty, Vasari maintained his position as the central broker for Cosimo's patronage. In addition, Vasari could assume that these artists' dependence on the court for workspace as well as employment would translate to hard work, reliability, and consistency for the court. About his success as an administrator, Hermann Voss observed that "it is hardly too much to claim that Vasari had the greatest talent in all of central Italy for organizing artistic projects."[253] At the same time, he continued to depend on his social connections to coordinate the court projects he oversaw.[254] Sforza Almeni, in particular, continued to provide information that was critical to Vasari's success as an administrator for Duke Cosimo. Their correspondence enabled Vasari to juggle the direction of construction on multiple sites and works.[255]

Among his artist-clients, Vasari consistently chose to hire Vincenzo Danti for both group and individual commissions. Vasari and Danti probably knew each another before either of them came to Florence; both men had worked in Rome during the early

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[252] Conticelli, "Giorgio Vasari al servizio del duca," 31, notes that the same motivation likely prompted Cosimo to hire Vasari in the first place at a moment when the duke "temeva di aggiungere un altro carattere difficile (come Cellini) o irresoluto (come Bandinelli) alla rissosa schiera dei suoi artisti."

[253] Voss, *Painting of the Late Renaissance*, 2:13.

[254] Davis began to map some of these social connections and their impact on Danti's career, although he mistakenly dismissed the connection between Danti and Bandinelli as impossible based on Danti's other professional friendships. See Davis, "Working for Vasari," 248-251.

[255] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:668-669: Vasari updated Duke Cosimo on the state of several major projects he was overseeing. He began this update with a report on works at the Medici villa at Castello, as told to him by Sforza Almeni: "Having come from you, messer Sforzo saw the gardens at Castello that are underway and near finished, and having seen the ground floor rooms, he says he has already seen their beauty and goodness." Vasari and Borghini frequently passed news to one another, to other secretaries, or to duke Cosimo by way of Almeni, see also: Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:456-461, 563-564, 577-581, 690-693, 755-756; 2:108-109, 123-124, 150-151, 181-182, 235; 3:9-10, 20-21, 29-30, etc.

1550s.[256] Vasari served the court of Pope Julius III, whose monument in Perugia Danti later cast.[257] During the same years, Danti was an apprentice in the Roman workshop of the sculptor and goldsmith Panfilio Marchesi. Lione Pascoli claims that the young Perugian also worked with Michelangelo in Rome, which, if true, also would have provided entrée into Vasari's circle.[258] Once in Florence, Danti received prominent commissions for the Medici rulers, thanks to his social and professional ties to Vasari.

INDEPENDENT COMMISSIONS BY DANTI, OVERSEEN BY VASARI

Danti's earliest commissions for the Medici court were independent ones, created for small spaces in the palace or for locations beyond the city center of Florence. Despite the failure of his first major project, the bronze fountain group of *Hercules and Antaeus* for the villa at Castello, Danti continued to receive patronage from the court in the form of projects overseen by Vasari.[259] By proving his abilities in these smaller, independent projects, Danti demonstrated his capacity to contribute to the large public commissions directed by Vasari in the 1560s.

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[256] For Danti in Rome in the 1550s, see Giulio Danti's letter to Panfilio Marchesi, cited above in Chapter 1. For Vasari, see Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*, 9-19.

[257] On Vasari's service to Julius III, see Firpo, "Cosimo de Medici and Giorgio Vasari," 25; Conticelli, "Giorgio Vasari al servizio del duca," 31; Alessandro Cecchi, "Giorgio e Bartolomeo: Un'amicizia lunga una vita al servizio del duca," in *Ammannati e Vasari per la città dei Medici*, ed. Cristina Acidini and Giacomo Pirazzoli (Florence: Polistampa, 2011), 29; Stefania Salomone, "Ammannati e Vasari: Biografie a confronto," in *Ammannati e Vasari per la città dei Medici*, 163-166. For Danti, see Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 5-33; Alessandro Nova, "La statua di Giulio III a Perugia stile, committenza e politica," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero: L'arte di Vincenzo Danti discepolo di Michelangelo*, ed. Charles Davis and Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi (Florence: Giunti, 2008), 61.

[258] Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*, 391; Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti perugini*, 137-138. Had such an apprenticeship or connection ever existed, however, Danti surely would have mentioned it in the introduction to his 1567 *Treatise on Perfect Proportions*, in which he frequently proclaimed his artistic debt to Michelangelo. See Chapter 5.

[259] See Chapter 1; Davis, "Working for Vasari," 257.

HERCULES AND ANTAEUS FOUNTAIN GROUP

The documentary record of the *Hercules and Antaeus* fountain group does not directly link Danti to Vasari. To receive such a substantial bronze commission as his first Medici project, however, Danti likely had supporters working to promote his success from the time of his arrival in Florence. Whether or not Vasari was involved in that early brokerage, he provided work to Danti from this moment forward, despite Danti's failure to complete this first court commission. The payment records for the framing filament of the sculpture appear in the ducal registers of payments, linking Danti to the court for the first time. At the time, Vasari was in charge of overseeing the planning and construction of the gardens at the Medici Villa at Castello, the intended destination of this *Hercules and Antaeus* group.[260] Danti's work on this project thus fell under Vasari's direction. Vasari later described a wax model that Danti made in preparation for this fountain group as "most beautiful" and "larger than life- size."[261] Professional ties between Danti and Vasari became more apparent and frequent throughout the next decade. Their mutual ties to Rome and to Sforza Almeni, paired with their shared ambition to distinguish themselves from other court artists, may have initially drawn these two non-Florentine artists together. The work itself soon linked them on a daily basis.

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[260] Cox-Rearick, "Art at the Court of Duke Cosimo," 39-42; Salomone, "Ammannati e Vasari," 165.

[261] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:631. Noted by Julius von Schlosser, "Aus der Bildnerwerkstatt der Renaissance. Fragmente zur Geschichte der Renaissanceplastik," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allehöchsten Kaiserhauses* 31 (1913-14): 78.

BRONZE GRATE FOR A CHAPEL, PALAZZO VECCHIO

In July 1558, Danti cast a grate for the window in the chapel in the quarter of Leone X in the Palazzo Vecchio, one of the decorative cycles being directed then by Vasari.[262] Unfortunately, this grate no longer exists. Neither Vasari's writings nor the documentary record describes whether it was highly embellished or geometrically simple. Like the fountain group for Castello, the documents associated with this grate link Danti and Vasari circumstantially, since it was intended for a chapel in the Palazzo Vecchio. Vasari later associated himself with Danti's work on this grate. In his *vita* of Danti, he described the setting of the grate as "in the new rooms painted by Giorgio Vasari."[263]

THE SAFE-DOOR (*SPORTELLO*) FOR THE DUKE'S STANZINO, PALAZZO VECCHIO

Danti soon received a commission for Palazzo Vecchio for another object in bronze, the relief-covered door to a safe that was to house the duke's most private papers (Fig. 13). The door, or *sportello* as Vasari called it, was the only sculptural object in a tiny room in the duke's own quarters. The bronze relief door bears a complex program of figural iconography about the importance of just rule. Although no contemporary source describes the narrative of its central scene, the panel almost certainly depicts emperor

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[262] Charles Davis, "Bassorilievi in bronzo e in marmo di Vincenzo Danti," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 142-43; Davis, "Working for Vasari," 212 and 257, Appendix doc. 2: "E dì 15 di luglio per libbre 36 di ferro lavorato per uno telaio per gittare fune una rete di bronzo (…) per la finestra della cappella la quale a' gittare detto messer Vincenzo Perugino monta in tutto L. 12 s. 12," July 15, 1558 (ASF Fabbriche Medicee 20, c. 140v). Although Pope-Hennessy claimed this "grille" was made for the chapel of Eleonora, Summers demonstrated that it was almost certainly made for the chapel of Leo X, which would correspond to Vasari's description of the object as made for "the new chapel in Palazzo Vecchio in the new rooms painted by Giorgio Vasari"; John Pope-Hennessy, "Italian Bronze Statuettes II," *Burlington Magazine* 105 (1963): 64; David Summers, "The Chronology of Vincenzo Danti's First Works in Florence," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 16 (1972): 196 n16; Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:631; Francesco Santi, *Vincenzo Danti scultore (1530-1576)* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editore, 1989), 18; Giovan Battista Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti, 1530-1576* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1996), 54.

[263] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:631.

Augustus, to whose rule Cosimo likened his own.[264] The proper execution of the complex iconography of Emperor, allegories, and Medici symbols likely required closer contact between Vasari and the young sculptor. The documents that describe the creation of this door and its setting make clear that Vasari oversaw its production.[265] Furthermore, the object was incorporated into a larger program about rulership and princely justice that dominated the rooms in which the duke lived.

The correspondence between Vasari and Cosimo about the renovations to this suite of rooms contextualizes this single object within the broad decorative changes to the palace and its architecture. Vasari's letter of 12 September 1560 updated the duke on the progress of the palace renovations. He described a newly installed staircase, the decoration of rooms already complete in the palace, and the transformation and adornment of the Salone (large reception hall).[266] Renovations to this part of the palace included the restructuring and decoration of three rooms that formed the core of Cosimo's private apartments. Vasari coordinated work on the pre-existing *camera* and *scrittoio*, including their structural reconfiguration and decoration with frescoes and ceiling stuccos.[267] Within this suite, Vasari had a third room constructed. Referred to as a *stanzino* in the documents, this entirely new room was created through the excavation of material from the thick, stone walls of the palace, where a heater or stove had been

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[264] Louis A. Waldman, "The Recent Vincenzo Danti Exhibition in Florence," *Burlington Magazine*, 150 (2008): 683; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 683; Summers, "Chronology," 197-198. For Cosimo and Augustus, see Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny*, 279-283; Roger Crum, "'Cosmos, the World of Cosimo': The Iconography of the Uffizi Facade," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 246-250.

[265] Davis, "Working for Vasari," 205-222.

[266] Vasary-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:577-581, from Vasari in Florence to Duke Cosimo in Poggio a Caiano. These letters that mention progress on several projects at once appear in the documentary record throughout the 1560s.

[267] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 183-194.

located previously.[268] The stanzino's iconography should be understood as a component of the whole *quartiere di Cosimo I* because its construction timeline and its function for the Duke's private use correspond to those of the larger suite. While Danti worked on the safe door for this stanzino, Jan van der Straet and Leonardo Ricciarelli were creating the fresco and stucco decorations for the adjacent camera and scrittoio.[269]

The decoration of this small room "where the stove used to be" consisted solely of Danti's safe door.[270] In 1559, Danti cast the relief door with the help of Zanobi Lastricati.[271] The door was an important accomplishment for Danti during his first years in Florence; it allowed him to reassert his abilities in bronze. As the only decoration in the stanzino, the sportello was an independent commission in the sense it was not a part of a larger series of sculptures. Yet, it was also a component of the larger decorative

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[268] Van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici*, 32; Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 189-190. See also ASF Fabbriche "Copia di lustre e conti del Palco Ducale 1558-1560", f. 145r as transcribed by Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 366: "R. di 23 di Genaijo 1560 si peso 1o isportello di bronzo di ½ rilievo per metallo al o armario nella anticameretta del duca dovera la stufa alat o alucio dello jscrittoio nuovo peso H. 216 netto el quale jsportello lo fece dett o m. Vincenzo da Perugia." See also Giulio Cesare Lensi Orlandi Cardini, *Il Palazzo Vecchio di Firenze* (Florence: A. Martello-Giunti, 1977), 58-59.

[269] Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 187-188, 191-194.

[270] Van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici and his Self-Representation*, 34; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 366-368. Summers also discussed this relief as stylistically characteristic of Danti's reliefs as it moves abruptly from high to low relief and each section of the surface both embraces and bursts forth from its geometric framing; The Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti, 88-103.

[271] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," dates the relief later, to around 1560 or 1561, because of its more refined finish compared to the Moses and the Brazen Serpant panel. Davis, "Bassorilievi in bronzo e in marmo," 94, instead argued that the casting of the door dates between the fall of 1559 and the spring of 1560, based on Vasari's letters and records of the Fabriche Medicee, which begin to list payments to Zanobi Lastricati in November 1559. Davis, "Working for Vasari in Palazzo Vecchio," 222, suggested that the rest of this suite of rooms had been finished by early 1560, around the same time that Danti cast the Moses and the Brazen Serpant panel, probably at the same time as the sportello. He discussed the 1561 record of the door's weight as "an ex post facto internal bookkeeping transaction carried out within the financial structure of ducal building," 222. Other documents that Davis transcribed describe this commission as a "porticuola" (ASF Fabbriche Medicee 21, f. 48v). For the purposes of this chapter, "safe-door" is the most precise description of this object.

scheme of the duke's apartments and contributed to the iconography of that context. This combination of stand-alone and integrated iconography has complicated scholarly attempts to identify the central narrative of the door.[272] Although Vasari, Cosimo Bartoli, and Vincenzo Borghini corresponded frequently with the duke about the decorative programs for the camera and scrittoio, none specified the subject matter of the door.[273] As the theme of rule depicted in its central narrative aligns with the suite of rooms in which it was installed, so too did the framing devices within the relief reflect the decorative frameworks of the fresco cycles in adjacent rooms. The narrative and allegorical figures depicted on the door appear within the squares and ovals of a gilded geometric frame that Charles Davis has compared to framing devices of the ceilings that Vasari designed throughout the palace.[274]

The safe door describes themes of princely rule echoed in the decorative cycles of adjacent rooms, and its complexity suggests a growing trust in Danti's ability to execute complicated iconography. A Roman leader inhabits the central rectangle, accompanied by the infants Romulus and Remus, the Tiber river god, and a crowd of men, some in togas and others in military dress. This central figure, whose seated body occupies a full quarter

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[272] Waldman, "Danti Exhibition in Florence," 683; Davis, "Bassorilievi in bronzo e in marmo," 232-243.

[273] Davis, "Working for Vasari," 208-223.

[274] Davis, "Working for Vasari," 227-228. Francesca Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 28, noted that Vasari used such a compartmentalized design for the *guardaroba* ceiling "to conceal with its geometric design the irregular plan" of the room, a solution Vasari adopted extensively in the ducal palace." This organizational motif also served to unify these irregular spaces through consistent decorative schema. The lower third of the door consists of a horizontal oval lozenge that surrounds an allegorical figure of Peace seated in the aedicule of a temple as well as two bearded and bound men whom she has subdued. Standing allegories of Temperance and Prudence fill the vertical rounded rectangles that flank the central narrative. Above and below this narrative, rounded lozenges contain reclining figures, almost certainly additional allegories but whose identities remain unclear. See Davis, "Working for Vasari," 238-243; van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici*, 34.

of the narrative area, directs the burning of books on an altar.[275] Such a scene makes the most sense as a component of the Augustan imagery present elsewhere in this quarter of the palace, as suggested by David Summers and reconfirmed recently by Louis Waldman.[276] Cosimo frequently used Augustan iconography based both on the astrological ascendent of Capricorn that he shared with the Roman Emperor and also on his conception of their predestination to bring imperial harmony to a chaotic republic.[277] It is unlikely that the iconography destined for such an important location would have been entrusted to a new and relatively young sculptor.[278] Nonetheless, the narrative intricacies of this relief, including references to ancient Rome and surrounding allegorical figures, indicate that Vasari and Borghini must have considered Danti capable of depicting a significant and complex allegorical program.

Although artists did not need to fully grasp the histories and allegories they portrayed, Vasari selected an artist with an exceptional educational background for this

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[275] These basic details of the scene have never been at issue. Charles Davis, "Disegno, lo scultore all'opera: delineare, inquadrare, progettare," *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 251.

[276] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 96-101, identified the narrative of the central panel as Augustus overseeing the burning of the Sibylline books, described by Suetonius in *Lives of the Caesars*. Davis, "Working with Vasari," 232-43, proposed, instead, that we should read the narrative as the scribe Petilius overseeing the burning of books once owned by Numa Pompilius, a Roman king who collected books of Pythagorean philosophy. Davis argued that Petilius burning of the books, which threatened traditional Roman religion, paralleled Cosimo's responsibility to protect the Catholic faith in Tuscany. Henk van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici*, 34, supported Davis's reading of the panel and defined the larger theme of this quarter as "peaceful government." Davis, "Bassorilievi in bronzo e in marmo di Vincenzo Danti," 108-112, reiterated his interpretation in 2008. Waldman, "Danti Exhibition in Florence," 683, dismantled this reading of the image as the books of Numa Pompilius because it "leaves open a number of questions, from Cosimo's intense personal identification with Augustus to the central figure's derivation from antique portraits of the Roman emperor."

[277] Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny*, 255-283; van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici*, 20-26, 84-86.

[278] Davis, "Working with Vasari," 213, asserted "it seems likely that [Danti] had relatively little voice in it." Davis restated this conclusion in 2008 in "Bassorilievi in bronzo e in marmo," 95.

significant but small-scale commission.[279] Danti's literary training and his work in Rome all equipped him to tackle the execution of this erudite design with minimal scholarly intervention.[280] Danti could draw from his familiarity with both Roman objects and Roman history to link the legacy of ancient Rome to Medici rule of Florence. Danti's technical skills also made him an ideal candidate to create the safe door. The work called for an intricacy of detail for which Danti's background in goldsmithing had prepared him well.[281] Despite the failure of the *Hercules and Antaeus*, Danti's experience in creating relief detail for the statue of Pope Julius III spoke to his ability to create dynamic relief compositions within elaborate frames of lozenges and ellipses.[282]

The object also typifies collaboration in the court setting. Vasari, in collaboration with Borghini or Cosimo Bartoli, gave the design to Danti, who then executed it with the help of Zanobi Lastricati. Beginning in November 1559, Lastricati received payments from the Fabbriche Medicee for their work "to cast a bronze door for the new study of His Excellency."[283] Records of work on this suite of rooms describe that certain aspects of the project were ordered "to be redone because messer Giorgio wants it larger," in

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[279] For artists who completed objects with no understanding of the iconographical import of their subjects, see scholarship on the program of Prince Francesco's studiolo, to be discussed below.

[280] Egnazio Danti described the brothers' education under the tutelage of their grandfather Piervincenzo and aunt Theodora in his unpaginated introduction to *La Sfera di Sacrobosco*, 1587.

[281] Danti trained as a goldsmith with both his father Giulio Danti and Panfilo Marchesi, in whose Roman workshop Vincenzo was apprenticed. Nova and Summers both read the intricate surface of Danti's Julius III monument as an indication of his background in goldsmithing and comfort with that visual language of highly adorned surfaces; Nova, "La Statua di Giulio III a Perugia," 61; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 30-32. Certainly that training would have served him well on this small scale, too.

[282] Nova, "La Statua di Giulio III a Perugia," 61-68; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 76.

[283] Published by Davis, "Working for Vasari," 258-259: "A m.o Zanobi Lastricati L 7 porto Pasquino d'Angelo suo garzone a conto di gittare una poricuola di bronzo per lo scrittoio nuovo di Sua Eccellenza," 11 November 1559 (ASF Fabbriche Medicee 22, f. 36r). Payments to Lastricati for this project date from November 1559-April 1560; Davis, "Working for Vasari," 216.

early 1560.[284] The commission for the *sportello* shows Danti newly embedded in the network of artists and the administration of art-making under Vasari's direction.

THE BRONZE RELIEF OF *MOSES AND THE BRAZEN SERPENT*

Following Danti's successful completion of the safe door, Vasari assured that he received a steady stream of court commissions. Danti completed the first of these, the bronze relief of the *Moses and the Brazen Serpent* (Fig. 11), in 1559.[285] The differences in style and execution between the two reliefs have led some scholars to search for a longer chronological separation between the works to account for the shift from the relatively restrained surface modeling of the *sportello* to the unbridled energy in the *Moses* panel.[286] Timoteo Bottonio described the relief in a sonnet dated November 1559, and the panel was appraised in March 1560.[287] Whatever its original conceived purpose, the *Moses* panel did not remain in the possession of the duke for very long. The document that lists

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[284] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:515-536. Davis, "Working for Vasari," 262-263, published documents between 1 January 1 and 30 April 1560, from ASF Fabbriche Medicee 21, f. 77r-v:
"Et de avere per avere fatto 6 cocholi 4 ne sono messi a 2 usci nella stanza dov'era la stufa et 2 n'ebbe a rifare che messer Giorgio li vuole maggiori montano ….L. 7
"Et de avere per avere rifatto uno altro stipito più largo ch'è l'architrave a quello uscio a lato allo armario perchè messer Giorgio lo vuole più largo poi che fu morato monta… L. 8 s. 10."

[285] Charles Davis, "Mosè e il serpente di bronzo," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 350, no. 19; Santi, *Vincenzo Danti*, 38-39; Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti*, 74-75.

[286] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 358-363, dated the *Moses* panel two to three years earlier than the sportello. The numerous holes and plugs in the bronze of the Moses relief, as well as a seam that runs vertically through the entire panel, also seemed to link this panel to Danti's casting mistakes when creating the *Hercules and Antaeus* fountain.

[287] For the weighing, see Davis, "Working for Vasari," 265. Bottonio's sonnet, 15 November 1559:
"Occorse poi ch'egli ebbe a gittare per il medesimo Duca un quadro grande di bronzo, dove era scolpita l'istoria del Serpente di Mosè, la quale opera gli riusci con molta felicità." Cited by Schlosser, "Aus der Bildnerwerkstatt," 73; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 358.

the date of its appraisal indicates that the relief was given as a gift to Sforza Almeni.[288] Danti was simultaneously completing the marble sculpture of *Honor that Conquers Deceit* for Almeni.[289]

In his *vita* of the Perugian artist, Vasari listed the *Moses and the Serpent* panel among several reliefs in bronze and marble that Danti created, "all of [which] were for the duke."[290] Despite their different media, Summers suggested that Vasari's grouping of these biblical reliefs in the *vita* might indicate that they were originally a cohesive group. As he noted, Bottonio's sonnet of 1559 on the Moses relief also named two marble reliefs: one was of the *Flagellation of Christ at the Column*, presumed to be that which is now in the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City (Fig. 14), and the other was a relief of the *Resurrection*, presumably lost.[291] Following Pope-Hennessy, Summers suggested that the panel may have been intended as an altar antependium for the renovations of the

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[288] The relief may have been intended as a gift to Almeni originally, but Summers, "Chronology," 10-13, proposed that the Moses relief could been Danti's speculative bid to win the commission for a series of bronze reliefs to be included in Bandinelli's cathedral choir, an idea Cellini had proposed to the Duke in 1556. Danti could hardly have afforded the amount of bronze required for such a piece in his first few years at court, and the same Fabbriche Medicee documents that Summers used to document its creation suggest that someone within the administration had decided to pay for its materials and execution. That is, rather than a speculative bid, its very creation fell within court patronage.

[289] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 359: "Ricordo come e si peso per infino a di 19 di marzo 1559 si peso la istoria di ½ rilievo di bronzo dientrovi la istoria di moise la quale gitto m vincenzo da Perugia a peso H 400 la quale si consegnio a m. isforzo cameriere delo illustrissimo s.re duca per infino a detto di dice sette fece la polizia a franc.o di S Iacopo callo bacci creditore di 23 genaio 1560," ASF Fabbriche Medicee, "Copia di lustre e conti del Palaco Ducale 1558-1560," f. 145r.

[290] Following his description of the safe door, "ed un altro quadro alto un braccio e mezzo e largo due e mezzo, dentrovi Moisè, che, per guarire il popolo ebreo dal morso delle serpi, ne pone una sopra il legno. Le quali tutte cose sono appresso detto signore…" Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:632.

[291] Marco Campigli, "Flagellazione," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 356-8, references Summers as the first to make the connection between the sonnet and the marble relief in Kansas City. The guardaroba records that list a potential match for the Resurrection relief described it in 1560 as "un quadro," although the relief was described as an oval by 1587. Truncated feet at the base of this oval strongly suggest that the Flagellation relief may have been cut into this oval shape; conversation with Douglas N. Dow, 2012.

chapel of Leo X in the Palazzo Vecchio, another project directed by Vasari.[292] But these explanations seem to elide the grate described above with the *Moses* relief, for which there is no clear setting in the space of the chapel. Were it intended for any space in the Palazzo Vecchio, Vasari certainly oversaw the commission. Alternately, it may represent an early example of sculptures created without an intended architectural setting.[293]

Although the patronage circumstances and destination originally intended for the *Moses* relief remain imprecisely understood, we can connect its creation to the patronage of the court because the casting and materials costs for the panel appear in the Fabbriche Medicee records.[294] Produced by the court and a component of Almeni's art collection, this object firmly embeds Danti in his early network of brokerage and patronage relationships. After Almeni's death, the panel returned to the ducal *guardaroba*.[295] Danti began to receive commissions for larger works following his successful completion of these smaller projects, always under the direction of Vasari.

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[292] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 360-361; Pope-Hennessy, "Italian Bronze Statuettes II," 64; Summers, "Chronology," 193-194, Summers proposed that the relief may have been intended as a component of Bandinelli's choir for Santa Maria del Fiore. He argued that Danti's participation in the creation of bronze reliefs for the cathedral choir might have prompted the ire Cellini showcased in his poems mocking the failure of the *Hercules and Antaeus* casting, but lists no documentation of any connection between the bronze relief and the choir construction.

[293] Cole, *Ambitious Form*, 82-84.

[294] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 68, suggested that the original destination "may no longer have been available at the time it was completed."

[295] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 362: ASF Guardaroba 75, f. 67: "Uno quadro di bronzo. lungo B III alto uno 1/3 entro vi piu figure." Later descriptions of the object as part of the grand ducal *guardaroba*; see Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo di Raffaello Borghini in cui della pittura e della scultura si favella, de' piu illustri Pittori e Scultori, e delle piu famose opere loro si fa mentione; e le cose principali appartenenti a dette arti s'insegnano* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1584), 521.

THE TOMB OF CARLO DE' MEDICI AT PRATO CATHEDRAL

Vasari oversaw Danti's construction of the tomb for Carlo de' Medici (Fig. 15) in the cathedral of Prato between 1562 and 1564. This project represents the closest ties yet between the two artists. The tomb was Danti's first monumental project in marble for the Medici court, and his first commission that was not a component of a larger decorative complex. Vasari referred to Danti by name for the first time in the letters about this tomb that Cosimo commissioned to house a long-deceased Medici relative.[296] Carlo de' Medici, an illegitimate son of Cosimo il Vecchio, had died in 1492 and been entombed in the cathedral of Prato, of which he had been provost.[297] In his later description of this commission, Vasari specified that the remains of the priest had been interred in a humble brick tomb from the time of his death until Duke Cosimo decided that his relative should have a more honorable resting place.[298] Suggestions for the tomb's inscription appear in Vincenzo Borghini's papers, demonstrating he was involved in this commission as well.[299] Due to its multiple components in marble and its importance to the ruling family, the monument for Carlo de' Medici was the most significant commission Danti had yet

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[296] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 155-160, 378-80; Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti*, 82-83; Santi, *Vincenzo Danti*, 48-49. See also Charles Davis, "Disegno, lo scultore all'opera: Delineare, inquadrare, progettare," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 235-238.

[297] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass,* 1:630-631, 773-774; 2:260; *Neue Briefe*, 3:5-9, 167-70; Frey included a brief biography of Carlo de' Medici, 3:7. See also Girolamo Razzi, "Vita di Cosimo de' Medici, il piu vecchio," in *Vite di cinque huomini illustre* (Florence: Giunti, 1602), 180.

[298] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:632: "…Le quali tutte cose sono appresso detto signore, di ordine di quale fece la porta della sagrestia della Pieve di Prato, e sopra essa una cassa di marmo con una Nostra Donna alta tre braccia e mezzo, col figliuolo ignudo appresso, e due puttini, che mettono in mezzo la testa di bassorilievo di messer Carlo de'Medici figliuolo naturale di Cosimo vecchio, e già proposto di Prato; le cui ossa, dopo essere state lungo tempo in un deposito di mattoni, ha fatto porre il duca Cosimo in detta cassa, ed onorato di quel sepolcro."

[299] Vasari-Frey, Nachlass, 2:51. Inscriptions are found in Borghini's papers in the BCNF, cod. XXV.551 fol. 74a, with three separate suggestions for the full inscription on a single page, none of them an exact match but each containing portions of the inscription included on the final tomb.

received in his service to the Medici. In addition, the tomb was not part of a larger ongoing project, such as the gardens at Castello or the decoration of the apartments in Palazzo Vecchio. The correspondence between Vasari and Borghini and between Vasari and the duke, discussing this project, mentioned Danti by name but no other artists; the work was his alone.[300]

Danti completed the commission in just two years. Its documentation ties him closely to Vasari and to the duchy-wide administration that provided materials for court projects. The plan for the tomb was proposed around 1561, around the time that Danti finished his sculpture of *Honor that Conquers Deceit* for Sforza Almeni.[301] Extent records do not reveal the extent to which Vasari participated in the conception of the tomb or whether Cosimo mandated specific components of the tomb.[302] Vasari did manage the finances for the project. On 29 February 1564, the last of a series of payments for costs of materials and labor was made directly to Vasari for a total of 300 *scudi*.[303]

The project comprised an over-door installation of the marble tomb, as well as the accompanying figures of a central seated Madonna with a young Christ Child standing between her knees, and two putti bearing candles who flank the central group. These figures sit atop a black marble sarcophagus that also supports Danti's marble relief

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[300] See especially Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:5-9, 43-44. On 13 March 13 1563, Vasari wrote to Giovanni Caccini, the overseer of the port of Pisa, to request that he send "il Sasso di Vincentio Perugino" (the stone for Vincenzo the Perugian) as soon as there was enough water in the river.

[301] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 154, noted this chronological correspondence between the completion of the *Honor* group and the commission for the Prato tomb. For the letter of 1561 from an unknown person in Prato that seems to have prompted court discussion of this project, see Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:629-630.

[302] Davis, "Disegno, lo scultore all'opera", 268, nn. 63-64; Also, Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:629-631, 673-375; 2:51-52, 74-75, 260; *Neue Briefe* 3:5-9, 15-16, 43-44, 167-170.

[303] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe* 3:169.

portrait of Carlo de' Medici (Fig. 16). He based this portrait on an image of the provost by Fillipo Lippi in his frescoes in the main chapel, a commission that Carlo de' Medici had sponsored.[304] Although Summers argued that the tomb represents both Danti's first independent commission for the Medici and his first known architectural project, extant documents do not clarify whether Danti designed the structure and components.[305] Letters reveal that Vasari closely monitored the progress on the tomb, reported on Danti's progress to Cosimo, and arranged the transportation of marble blocks for the project.[306]

While he was completing the tomb, Danti's presence was required in both Prato and Florence, where preparations were underway for the installations for Michelangelo's funeral. Danti also enrolled in the Accademia del Disegno in 1563, in the middle of work on the Prato tomb, and he was required to be present for the regular meetings and masses of that institution. Other letters indicate that he was also in Pisa during 1563, staying in the house of Sforza Almeni. So much travel suggests that Danti completed the tomb components relatively quickly. Danti demonstrated that he could simultaneously

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[304] Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti*, 83; Santi, *Vincenzo Danti*, 48; Karla Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici: 15th-18th centuries* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1981), 1:332.

[305] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 156, n65, "Danti is no doubt responsible for the entire design, and it is thus one of the few architectural efforts that can be attributed to him." In contrast, Davis, "Disegno, lo scultore all'opera," 237, named Vasari the architect. Davis, 269 n66, also noted that Borghini attributed the conception of the tomb to Danti, but Borghini's description is not as specific as Davis implied. Borghini, *Il Riposo*, 520: "Venuto poi in Firenze a servigi del Gran Duca Cosimo, fece per ordine di S. Altezza la porta della Sagrestia della Pieve di Prato, e sopra essa la sepoltura di M. Carlo Medici figliuol naturale di Cosimo vecchio già Proposto di quella terra, e sopra la cassa del marmo si vede una Nostradonna maggiore del natural ecol bambino appresso, e due fanciullini, che mettono in mezzo la testa simigliante il morto di basso rilievo." It seems unlikely that Vasari would allow Danti's architectural skills to be tested in a doorway that supported a Medici tomb. Furthermore, although Danti completed architectural projects in his hometown of Perugia, we know of no other architectural projects that he designed during his time in Florence. Giovan Battista Fidanza, "Vincenzo Danti architetto," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florence* 41 (1997): 392-405.

[306] For documentation of the tomb, see Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 378-79. Also letters in Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:673; 2:50-51, 74.

complete major sculpture commissions and also participate in the larger intellectual, professional, and social rituals that were important to Vasari and Borghini, his gatekeepers to ducal patronage.

Danti showcased his techinical ability to move from the generalized faces of the Madonna, Christ Child, and putti to the shallowly carved, individual features of his relief portrait of Carlo de'Medici. The ability to anachronize his sculptural style, here to quote from the adjacent *quattrocento* frescoes, also appeared in a later marble project that Danti completed for Vasari.[307] The pose of the Madonna and Child has been described as a citation of Michelangelo's Bruges Madonna, even though that work was never reproduced in print.[308] The standing Christ Child who leans on the knee of his mother is all the more noteworthy for its innovation without direct knowledge of that precedent, although the configuration had appeared in paintings, such as *The Vision of St. Jerome* by Parmigianino.[309] Vasari wrote that viewers cannot fully appreciate the beauty of the Madonna and the relief of the tomb, due to bad lighting of the space.[310] Whether Vasari included this aside in order to excuse himself as overseer or Danti as sculptor, both of them seem underserved by the ill-lit location.

This commission was a testing ground for Danti's abilities in the large marble format, and it also proved his ability to work within the payment and delivery schedules expected for court projects. Vasari corresponded with Giovanni Caccini, the overseer of

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[307] See immediately below, the tomb marker for Beato Giovanni da Salerno.

[308] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 157: "That he knew Michelangelo's Bruges Madonna in some form or another seems unquestionable." For the lack of a print, see Bernadine Barnes, *Michelangelo in Print: Reproductions as Response in the Sixteenth Century* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 169.

[309] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 158.

[310] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:632: "Ben è vero che la detta Madonna ed il bassorilievo di detta testa, che è bellissima, avendo cattiva lume, non mostrano a gran pezzo che sono."

the port in Pisa, about the transportation of marble blocks.[311] He would continue similar correspondence with Caccini and sent progress reports to Cosimo during the next project Danti was commissioned to complete for the court: the adornment of the new building for the Magistracy, the Uffizi.[312] Danti's work on facade sculptures for the Uffizi facade began in 1564, almost immediately following the completion of the tomb of Carlo de' Medici, and lasted the remainder of his tenure in Florence.

TOMB MARKER FOR BEATO GIOVANNI DA SALERNO AT SANTA MARIA NOVELLA IN FLORENCE

The final individual commission for which Vasari hired Danti and oversaw his work was the replacement of the tomb slab for Beato Giovanni da Salerno in the church of Santa Maria Novella (Fig. 17). Beato Giovanni da Salerno had founded the original Dominican chapter of Santa Maria Novella in Florence and died in 1242.[313] Danti created a replacement slab to commemorate the friar as part of Vasari's work to restructure and redecorate Santa Maria Novella on the orders of Cosimo.[314] Marcia Hall identified the renovations to Santa Maria Novella as an example of the duke's unique capacity to organize both the wide swath of patrons, the families whose chapels would change, and a

[311] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 3:5.

[312] The scope and organization of this project will be discussed in Chapter 3, which considers it in detail.

[313] Davis, "Disegno, lo scultore all'opera," 243-44; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 415; Walter Paatz and Elisabeth Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz, ein kunstgeschichtliches Handbuch* (Frankfurt am Main: V. Klostermann, 1952-55) 3:703.

[314] For the changes to Santa Maria Novella under Vasari's direction, Marcia B. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta Maria Novella and Sta Croce, 1565-1577* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

large group of contributing artists to support these renovations.[315] Vasari organized painters from the Accademia del Disegno to to create new altarpieces for the altars in the nave. He contributed a painting of the *Resurrection* himself and oversaw the works of the other academicians.

Danti was the only sculptor to contribute an independent work. Furthermore, the importance of producing a tomb slab for the chapter's founder and of preserving a sense of the antiquity of the object provided specific challenges for Danti. The marble relief was commissioned from Danti because the original tomb marker had been damaged when Vasari removed the church's *ponte*, the massive, two-story marble screen that divided the space of congregation from that of the friars. Payments to Danti began in July 1571 and continued through February of the following year.[316] Documents that describe the project list Danti's assistants and collaborators, including his *garzone* (assistant) Domenico da Carrara, as well as the woodworker Zanobi, who built the cypress box to hold Beato Giovanni's remains, and the stoneworker Niccolò Covati.[317] At this moment in his work for Vasari, Danti himself had also become an overseer.

Danti also demonstrated his ability to anachronize his carving style in this commission. He made this slab a pendant to the marble relief tomb for Beata Villana that Bernardo Rosselino had carved in the 1450s, also located in Santa Maria Novella.[318] Danti's ability to render earlier pictorial styles is also evident in his portrait relief of

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[315] Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation*, 16. Hall describes this project and the renovations of Santa Croce in the terms similar to the group projects to be described later in this chapter.

[316] Alessandro Cecchi, "Vasari e Rossellino: un progetto per la sistemazione della tomba della Beata Villana in Santa Maria Novella," *Antichità viva* 24 (1985): 127, n8. Cecchi cites ASF, Conventi Soppressi 102, Appendice f. 33, Entrata e Uscita. 1561-1580, cc. 141r-148r.

[317] Cecchi, "Vasari e Rossellino," 127.

[318] Ibid., 125.

Carlo de' Medici. Vasari may have wanted Danti to mask a mistake in the reconstruction of the church by approximating a recreation of the earlier slab or perhaps he wanted this tomb to stylistically connect a new work to the original founder of the church.[319] He chose an artist who had risen to meet specific challenges in earlier commissions, an anacronistic relief and over-the-door setting for the tomb in Prato, the logistics of carving a massive series of niche statues at the Uffizi, and the creation of a complicated narrative precious enough to house the Duke's most treasured papers. This tomb slab was the last independent commission that directly connected Vasari and Danti during the Perugian's time in Florence.

In 1571, Danti created a final, massive and publicly visible commission for the Medici when he cast and installed the final bronze sculpture group to adorn the Baptistery, the *Beheading of St. John the Baptist* (Fig. 18).[320] Danti was chosen to adorn this most Florentine of buildings, long associated with the city's history and ancient foundations.[321] The commission indicates the impressive professional standing he had attained in a decade and a half of work for the court. Because Vasari was in Rome at the time, oversight of the *Baptist* group fell to Vasari's frequent collaborator, Vincenzo Borghini. At the time payment was due to Danti, Cosimo stepped in to mediate a dispute

[319] No known documents describe the reasoning for the anachronistic style of this relief.

[320] Marco Campigli, "'Anima e forza' nella scultura di Vincenzo Danti," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 205; Marco Campigli, "Decollazione di San Giovanni Battista," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 320-322; Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti*, 37-38, 89-90; Santi, *Vincenzo Danti*, 26-28, 53-59; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 297-301.

[321] The early history of the Baptistery's decoration also includes the non-Florentine Andrea Pisano, the bronze sculptor from Pisa who created the first set of doors in the 1330s. Pope-Hennessy, *Introduction to Italian Sculpture,* 4th ed. (London: Phaidon Press, 1996), 1:247.

about payment and awarded Danti Florentine citizenship.[322] In his last two years working for the court, Danti the "scultore perugino" was a citizen of Florence.

VASARI AND DANTI IN THE ACCADEMIA DEL DISEGNO: THE NETWORK OF ARTISTS

Danti participated in several group projects associated with the Accademia del Disegno in the early to mid-1560s. He joined the Accademia in 1563, the first year of its existence, and held office four times.[323] For projects for the academy, Danti was one of a group of artists whose participation in these projects served them in three overlapping ways. First, contributing to group projects reinforced their collective identity as academicians in service to the Medici, and affirmed their abilities to privilege a semi-anonymous style for large court projects.[324] In addition, these same collective projects offered artists the opportunity to make objects that would be visible on a large, public scale.[325] Finally, even as they subordinated some stylistic distinctiveness, these artists also continued the long Florentine tradition of competition. In juxtaposing their works, they also compared the visual evidence of their skills and abilities. Vasari promoted such competition.[326]

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[322] O. Scavalcanti, "La Cittadinanza conferita a Vincenzo Danti," *Umbria, rivista d'arte e letteratura* 2 (1889): 59-60; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 405-410.

[323] The academy was founded 1 June 1563, and Danti enrolled on 14 November 1563. For the offices he held, see Zangheri, *Gli Accademici del Disegn*o, 100-101.

[324] Marco Ruffini, *Art without an Author*, 3-7, 23.

[325] Such as the *Entrata* of 1565 and Michelangelo's funeral.

[326] James Clifton, "Vasari on Competition," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27 (1996): 25-30, 37-41, for Vasari's notion of artistic competition as essential to artistic progress.

Danti demonstrated his readiness to be the artist that Cosimo and his court needed through his participation in these collective projects. Some scholars have described these group projects as showcases for lesser talents and relatively unknown personalities.[327] In Danti's case, these commissions coincided chronologically with some of his most prominent independent objects. During his first decade in town, Danti embraced these opportunities to publicly demonstrate his talent. Group projects provided him a stage on which he could be positively compared with his peers even while he was also receiving court patronage as an independent artist. Vasari oversaw collaborative commissions both for the newly-founded Accademia del Disegno and for the princes. The projects for the Accademia del Disegno were major sites of performance for both Vasari and Danti before audiences of their peers as well as patrons.

THE CATAFALQUE FOR MICHELANGELO'S FUNERAL AT SAN LORENZO IN FLORENCE

Michelangelo died in Rome on 18 March 1564, and his nephew Lionardo soon transported his body back to Florence.[328] With Cosimo's support, the Accademia del Disegno prepared funeral ceremonies, a massive installation of decorations in the church of San Lorenzo to accompany those ceremonies, and the design and execution of a tomb for Michelangelo in the nave of the church of Santa Croce.[329] The academicians

[327] Rudolf and Margot Wittkower, *The Divine Michelangelo: The Florentine Academy's Homage on his Death in 1564, A Facsimile edition of Esequie del divino Michelagnolo Buonarroti, Florence 1564* (Greenwich, CT: Phaidon Publishers, Inc., 1964), 27.

[328] Wittkower and Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 9-18; Ruffini, *Art without an Author*, 11-21.

[329] Wittkower and Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 9-47, present the most concise description of the Academy's work on these projects. See also Zygmunt Waźbiński, *L'Accademia del Disegno a Firenze nel cinquecento: Idea e istituzione* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1987), 1:95-110; Joan Stack, "Artists into Heroes," in *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art*, ed. Mary Rogers (Aldershot and Brookfield: Ashgate, 2000), 167-169; Cristina Acidini Luchinat, "Michelangelo and the Medici," in *The Medici,*

nominated Vasari, Bronzino, Cellini, and Ammannati to design the catafalque and decorations for San Lorenzo, with Lastricati as *provveditore*.[330] This committee determined that "younger" artists would create the components of the catafalque as well as other objects to adorn the church for the ceremonies of 14 July 1564. Rudolf and Margot Wittkower described the traditional interpretation of this arrangement:

> Ostensibly the intention was to give the young artists a chance to show their ability and to gain experience in friendly competition. In actual fact, it was a clever device to lessen the financial burden: these artists readily agreed to work without pay, whereas well-established busy masters would scarcely have given their time and disrupted their workshop routine without substantial remuneration.[331]

The Accademia documents describe these artists as "young."[332] Ruffini noted that many of them would eventually become well known contributors to the court's art projects. He argued that these artists were invited to contribute to this project because their inexperience also meant that they could blend individual styles to contribute seamlessly to a cohesive Academy vision in commemoration of Michelangelo.[333] However, several of these artists had already served the court extensively. Jan van der Straet had completed

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Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence, 9-10; van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici*, 172-183; Ruffini, *Art without an Author*, 17-38.

[330] Cellini eventually left the committee. Patricia Reilly, "Drawing the Line," 36-37, discussed the funeral and the roles of Cellini and Vasari in its preparation.

[331] Wittkower and Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 22-23.

[332] Ruffini, *Art without an Author*, 12, 23; Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 70, clarified that this was a label of experience rather than age.

[333] Ruffini, *Art without an Author*, 23, named "Jacopo Zucchi, Jan van der Straet [Stradano], Giovambattista Naldini, Federico Sustris, Bernardo Buontalenti, Alessandro Allori, Giovanni Maria Butteri, Stefano Pieri, Lorenzo Sciorina, and Santi di Tito," although he curiously omited Danti, perhaps because he did not consider Danti one of the "most promising young members."

substantial sections of fresco in the remodeled Palazzo Vecchio.[334] Danti had created a number of objects for the court by the spring 1564. During the three months of planning for Michelangelo's funeral, Danti also received the large and prestigious commission for the Uffizi facade sculptures. Yet, he was also willing to contribute to a project ostensibly created by inexperienced artists. This year marked a liminal moment of status and visibility for Danti as he contributed to these multiple projects directed by Vasari.

For Danti and his "young" colleagues, the opportunity to contribute to a celebration of Michelangelo, the artist held up as a pinnacle and exemplum of their profession, also gave them a forum to showcase their talents on a public scale, regardless of their age or experience.[335] Karen-edis Barzman has noted that, for many of those artists who were truly of junior status, participation on the catafalque project resulted in promotion to full *accademico* rank within two days of the public funeral ceremonies.[336] Most of the projects Danti had finished for the court by this date were out of town or located in small or private spaces. For Van der Straet and Danti, as non-Florentines, the catafalque offered the opportunity to demonstrate their knowledge of this most celebrated of Florentine artists.[337] Michelangelo had, after all, been elected "head, father, and master of all" of the Accademia at its inception.[338]

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[334] Van der Straet had been working on the Sala di Leone X since at least 1558, when Vasari reported it was nearly complete. See Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 114-126; Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:500.

[335] On Leone Leoni and Cellini's desires to each become heir to Michelangelo's legacy, see Kelley Helmstutler di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist at the End of the Renaissance* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 71-79.

[336] Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 69-70, and 301 nn44-46.

[337] See Chapters 1 and 4 for *fiorentinismo* and the legacy of Michelangelo.

[338] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:737, Vasari to Michelangelo, March 1563: "capo, padre et maestro di tutti." See also Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:287; and the *Esequie* published by Wittkower and Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 56, which name him "primo Accademico e capo"; and Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 33-34

Borghini produced a drawing of the overall planned architecture and arrangement of figures on the catafalque prior to the finalization of its design (Fig. 19).[339] The organizing committee already had determined that the structure would be freestanding in the nave, and they had designed its architectural form. Three rectangular tiers would support allegorical sculptures and an obelisk supporting a sculpture of Fame at the summit. The two-figure sculpture group that Danti would contribute already appears on the left side of this drawing, the upper figure labeled "Ingegno" (Genius/Ingenuity) and the lower "Ignoranza" (Ignorance). After Cellini refused to take part in the organizing committee, Bartolomeo Ammannati coordinated the sculptors' contributions and he would have overseen Danti's design. Ammannati and Vasari were close allies.[340] Danti probably reprised the pose of his *Honor that Conquers Deceit* to represent this theme of *Genius over Ignorance*.[341] According to Vasari's description, Danti positioned a figure of *Genius*, represented as a youth with small wings on his temples, standing over the figure of *Ignorance*, which was depicted with donkey ears.[342] The sculpture was installed on the

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on the links between the academy's founding and Michelangelo as a model for artists and poets in Florence.

[339] Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Inv. Nr. 35343b. Hildegard Utz attributed this pen and ink drawing to Danti in 1975, but recent scholarship has challenged this attribution and assigned the drawing to Borghini. Utz, "Drawings and a Letter by Vincenzo Danti," *Master Drawings* 13 (1975): 8-12, 72-73; Wittkower & Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 22. For a summary of attributions, see Kurt Zeiler, *Architektur als Bild und Bühne: Zeichnungen der Bramante- und Michelangelo-Nachfolge aus dem Atelierbestand des Alessandro Galli Bibiena* (Munich: Ernst von Siemens Kunstfonds, in partnership with the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, 2004), 192-194.

[340] Wittkower and Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 19 and n. 23. For Vasari and Ammannati's friendship, see Cecchi, "Giorgio e Bartolomeo: Un'amicizia lunga una vita al servizio del duca"; Salomone, "Ammannati e Vasari: Biografie a confronto."

[341] Wittkower and Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 97, 163; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 440. See Chapter 1 for victory groups as particularly prestigious compositions for *cinquecento* sculptors.

[342] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:300-301: "sopra ciascun piedestallo era una statua grande più che il naturale, che sotto n'aveva un'altra come soggetta e vinta, di simile grandezza, ma raccolte in diverse attitudini e stravaganti. La prima, a man ritta andando verso l'altare maggiore, era un giovane selto e nel sembiante

right side of the lower tier of the catafalque.[343] Due to the collaborative nature of this project and the desire for a cohesive result, all sculptures for the catafalque were created out of plaster on a larger-than-life scale and painted white to resemble marble.[344] Danti's reuse of the composition of his *Honor* sculpture would remind Florentines of his earlier work, while also conforming to the format of the works that other sculptors produced for the catafalque.

Danti also produced his first public painting in Florence as part of these memorial decorations. His painting of *Fame Triumphing over Time and Death* stood four braccia high and two long, and was installed at the front of the nave, opposite the pulpit from which the funeral oration was delivered. The committee members in charge of overseeing paintings for the funeral, Bronzino and Vasari, would have coordinated this work and monitored its coherence to the overall decorative program.[345] The successful working relationship that Danti and Vasari had developed could explain the unexpectedly prominent placement of this painting by an artist known in Florence, until this moment,

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tutto spirito, e di bellissima vivacità, figurato per l'Ingegno, con due aliette sopra le tempie, nella guisa che si dipigne alcuna volta Mercurio: e sotto a questo giovane, fatto con incredibile diligenza, era con orecchi asinine una bellissima figura, fatta per l'Ignoranza, mortal nemica dell'Ingegno."

[343] See Wittkower and Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 149-151, for a reconstruction. Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:300: "on the right had side as you go towards the main altar."

[344] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 2:86. The other sculptures were *Christian Charity Subduing Vice* by Valerio Cioli, *Minerva/Art Overcoming Envy* by Lazzaro Calamech, and *Study Overcoming Idleness* by Andrea Calamech; Wittkower and Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 150.

[345] The painting represents the first instance of Danti's association with Bronzino, whose literary example Danti emulated as an artist-poet. In many ways, Bronzino had achieved in the 1540s and 1550s the role that Danti still hoped to attain, that of an intellectual artist whose visual work was overwhelmingly favored by the duke. Carlo Falciani and Antonio Natali, eds., *Bronzino: Artist and Poet at the Court of the Medici* (Florence: Mandragora, 2010); Janet Cox-Rearick, *Bronzino's Chapel of Eleonora in the Palazzo Vecchio* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 1-19. On Bronzino's circle of friends and allies at court, see Robert Gaston, "Iconography and Portraiture in Bronzino's 'Christ in Limbo'," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 27 (1983): 52-59.

only as a sculptor. The published account of the funeral recorded that it was "executed by Vincenzo Danti from Perugia who, as long as he lives, will prove how much careful study can help a fine talent and guide it to that perfection and excellence beyond which nothing remains to be desired."[346] Vasari later described Danti's painting in nearly exactly the same terms.[347] Despite the praise of contemporary authors, Danti would not receive another painting commission during his years in Florence.[348]

In the completion of this object, Danti demonstrated a new skill to the Florentine public and to his patrons and brokers, apparently to great acclaim. The setting of Michelangelo's own funeral, of course, was an ideal venue for demonstrating an artist's capabilities in multiple media.[349] These two objects represented two of the four arts that Michelangelo had practiced (with poetry and architecture), and two of the three arts of *disegno* that the Accademia del Disegno was mandated to foster and to celebrate. Danti's

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[346] Wittkower and Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 121-122, from *Esequie*, 1564: "Ben era in su quell'altro, che gli è dirimpetto, & che non è ancor messo in su le colonne, un quadro alto quattro braccia, & largo due in circa, dove con bella invenzione, & bonissimo disegno era dipinto la Fama, o vero l'honore in attitudine bellissima, con una tromba nella man destra, & con i piedi addosso al tempo, & alla morte, per mostrar, che la fama, & l'honore; mal grado della morte, & del tempo serbano vivi in eterno coloro, che virtuosamente in questa vita hanno operato. Questo quadro ha fatto Vincentio Danti Perugino, il quale, vivendo mostrerà quanto un sollecito studio aiuti un bell'ingegno, & conduca altrui a quella perfezzione, & eccellenza, oltre la quale non si può alcuna cosa disiderare."

[347] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:313-14: "Ma era bene in su quell'altro, che gli è dirimpetto e che non era ancor messo in su le colonne, un quadro alto quattro braccia e largo poco più di due dove con bella invenzione e bonissimo disegno era dipinto per la Fama, o ver Onore, un giovane con belissima attitudine, con una tromba nella man destra, e con i piedi addosso al Tempo ed alla Morte, per mostrare che la fama e l'onore, mal grado della morte e del tempo, serbano vivi in eterno coloro che virtuosamente in questa vita hanno operato: il qual quadro fu di mano di Vincenzio Danti Perugino scultore, del quale si è parlato, e si parlerà altra volta."

[348] Once in Perugia, Danti was commissioned to create an altarpiece of the *Crucifixion* for the Della Corgna chapel, which he painted between 1574 and 1576; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 443-445. See also Chapter 1 on the Della Corgna family.

[349] The sculptures were dismantled; some were stored but soon disintegrated, while other paintings were sold. Now all are lost. Wittkower and Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 26-27.

painting was installed in a singular position, on one of two pulpits at either side of the front of the nave. Benedetto Varchi, the famous orator and poet, delivered his oration from the second pulpit, directly across from this painting.[350] Danti's painting would have been visible both from the church entrance, as viewers approached the catafalque, and also as they passed that installation to approach the main altar.[351]

Both Danti and Vasari contributed to this project, Vasari among a team of coordinators and Danti as one of the corps of artists. Several sources, including the *Esequie* volume, name Borghini as the author of the program.[352] But the duke, through his secretary, wrote to Vasari that "the glory is all yours."[353] The *Esequie* also praised Vasari's contributions: "the invention of these last representations of Death came from the most ingenious Giorgio Vasari, who was always most helpful with work for the entire enterprise."[354]

When the time came to construct Michelangelo's tomb in Santa Croce, Borghini was solicitous of Cosimo's input.[355] In his letter of 4 November 1564, Borghini named potential sculptors to work on the tomb, including Battista Lorenzi and Giovanni Bandini, both of whom had been among Bandinelli's most important assistants and who did

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[350] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 438; See Chapter 4 for Danti and Varchi in the context of the Accademia Fiorentina and Danti's practice as a poet.

[351] Wittkower & Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 152.

[352] *Esequie*, in Wittkower and Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 125.

[353] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 2:89, also published and translated in Wittkower and Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 25.

[354] Wittkower and Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*, 121. The Wittkowers assigned authorship of the *Esequie* pamphlet to Giunti, who relied heavily on notes supplied to him by Borghini, 31-35.

[355] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 2:116-123, doc. 468, for Borghini's description to the duke of the plans for the tomb and his hesitance to move forward without Cosimo's approval: "perche io non moverei un passo in cosa alchuna senza la participatione di V. E. I."

complete sculptures for the final tomb. The prior then explained that other sculptors, including Andrea Calamech, Vincenzo Danti, and Valerio Cioli, would not be contributing to Michelangelo's tomb because they already had other work underway for the duke and there would also be much more for them to do in the future.[356] In 1564, all of these "young" sculptors had much to look forward to.

SCULPTURES FOR THE CAPPELLA DI SAN LUCA AT SANTISSIMA ANNUNZIATA, IN FLORENCE

The next project organized by Vasari and Borghini for the Accademia del Disegno was the decoration of the Cappella di San Luca at the church of the Santissima Annunziata. The academy used this chapel for their meetings and masses, and they shared it with the resident Servite friars, who used it as their chapter house.[357] On 25 June 1565, the Academy and the Servites came to an agreement about the use and adornment of this chapel.[358] Nine academicians, including Danti and Vasari, were placed in charge of distributing commissions for the paintings and sculptures to adorn the rooms. Vasari served as one of five *riformatori*, the committee of painters, and Danti as one of four *aroti*, the sculptors.[359] Of the *riformatori*, two completed paintings for the space: Bronzino, who collaborated on the *Trinity* with Alessandro Allori, and Vasari, who completed the fresco of *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*. In total, the academicians created

[356] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 2:117: "poich' Vincenzio Perugino et Andrea Chalamech et Valerio Cioli hanno havuto statue da V. E. I.. Et a quelli altri che restano non manchera occasione di poter' dare che fare."

[357] Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 24-25.

[358] Hans Geisenheimer, "Di alcune pittore fiorentine eseguite intorno al 1570," *Arte e Storia* 26 (1907): 19.

[359] David Summers, "The Sculptural Program of the Cappella di San Luca in the Santissima Annunziata," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 14 (1969): 71.

three paintings and ten terracruda sculptures, painted white to look like marble, for this space.[360]

Danti was the only sculptor who both held an administrative role and also completed work for the chapel.[361] Danti received the commission for the statue of *St. Luke*, the patron of the Academy, of painters, and of the earlier confraternity that the Accademia del Disegno had absorbed and replaced.[362] Perhaps their administrative roles allowed both Vasari and Danti to choose subjects of central importance to the program. In addition to the figure of St. Luke, Danti also worked with Zanobi Lastricati on the statue of *Cosimo I as Joshua*, which depicts the ruler in a seated portrait wearing Roman military dress.[363] While both Vasari and Danti held administrative roles for this program, the objects that Danti created were in the humblest of sculpture materials, as terracruda was usually used for ephemeral decorations.

Although planned in 1565, work on the sculptures did not begin until 1569 and the participating artists changed in the meantime.[364] The contributors listed in 1567 differ from those listed in the documentation of materials distribution in 1569. Participating sculptors shifted their assigned subjects or, in some cases, sculptors in the original lists

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[360] Summers, "Cappella di San Luca," 68, n1. Giovanangelo Montorsoli had already created two such figures, St. Paul and Moses, for the chapel in the 1530s.

[361] First noted by Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 242-251. See also Summers, "Cappella di San Luca," 71, from ASF Arti. Accademia del Disegno, Libro del Proveditore, 'E', f. 15r.

[362] Summers, "Cappella di San Luca," 80, for a description of this figure's "elegance and monumental composure."

[363] Summers, "Cappella di San Luca," 82, notes the chronological correspondence between Cosimo's coronation as grand duke in 1569 and the commission for this figure, which features the faithful depiction of the still-living duke's features. The posture recalls both Michelangelo's generalized portraits of the Medici dukes in the New Sacristy and the seated statue of Cosimo that Danti produced for the *testata* of the Uffizi, discussed in Chapter 3. See also Langedijk, *Portraits of the Medici*, 1:476.

[364] Summers, "Cappella di San Luca," 71.

did not execute any of the final works.[365] Danti appears both on the list of sculpture commissions established in 1567 and on the list of artists to whom materials were released in 1569.[366] As with other group projects, the artists who made sculptures for the chapel of St. Luke worked mutually in service to the state and in competition with one another.[367] Their competitive performances became a long-term display for an audience of artist peers. Bronzino and Allori used their painting of the *Trinity* to remind this audience of their own artistic dynasty as students of Pontormo.[368] Artists were also buried in the space beneath the chapel, in a communal tomb adorned with Montorsoli's emblematic marble relief, reinforced the implications of artistic inheritance and dynasty in this space.[369] These commissions provided the academicians the chance to participate in Vasari's program of locally rooted community building. Summers, nonetheless, described these projects as low-pressure and low priority for the participating artists:

> Since neither wealth nor glory could be expected from the sculpture and pressure to complete it was less than it would have been for a ducal or similarly important private commission, work proceeded at a casual rate.[370]

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[365] Summers, "Cappella di San Luca," 70-72. Summers aligns these lists with dates of the sculptors' dates of Florentine activity and stylistic analysis to persuasively attribute the extant clay figures still in the chapel in 1969.

[366] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 242; Summers, "Cappella di San Luca," 71-72.

[367] Summers, "Cappella di San Luca," 70, notes the "submersion of individual style" that characterized Vasari's coordination of Prince Francesco's Studiolo, described below, and that Ruffini has argued was particularly valued by Vasari and Borghini in their agenda to promote the unified style of the academy and court.

[368] Elizabeth Pilliod, *Pontormo, Bronzino, Allori: A Geneology of Florentine Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 114.

[369] Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 24-27.

[370] Summers, "Cappella di San Luca," 71.

Nonetheless, these artists were performing for one another and certainly for the officers and elder members of the Academy, whose favor could link these artists to future brokerage and commissions. We can read Danti's participation in this project as the fulfillment of his duty to the academy, especially as his peers Giambologna and Vincenzo de' Rossi did not participate in the decoration of this space. The seated portrait of Cosimo as *Joshua* affirmed this space and its function as indebted to the prince and as a component of the state that he ruled. In the execution of this terracruda sculpture, Danti demonstrated his ability to create a likeness of his prince in the fitting guise of Joshua, the Old Testament conquerer of Canaan and leader of his people.[371]

COLLABORATIVE PROJECTS FOR THE PRINCES

The remaining category of commissions that Vasari directed and to which Danti contributed were elaborate installations constructed to celebrate the glory of the Medici and their interests. In 1565, Vasari and Borghini directed the creation of massive, city-wide ephemeral decorations to adorn the processional path of Prince Francesco's new bride, Johanna of Austria.[372] Cosimo gradually ceded control of the state and its art commissions to Francesco, and Francesco directed Vasari and Borghini to design a small, isolated but ornate study room for his own use in Palazzo Vecchio in 1570.[373] Vasari once

[371] Cosimo received the title of Grand Duke in the same year that decoration of the chapel began; Summers, "Cappella di San Luca," 82.

[372] For descriptions, Piero Ginori Conti, ed., *L'apparato per le nozze di Francesco de'Medici e di Giovanna d'Austria* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1936); Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 8:519-622.

[373] See especially, Larry J. Feinberg, "The Studiolo of Francesco I Reconsidered," in *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the art of Late Renaissance Florence*; Karen Victoria Edwards, "Rethinking the Installation of the Studiolo of Francesco I in the Palazzo Vecchio (Ph.D. diss: Case Western Reserve, 2007); Scott Schaefer, "The Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio," (Ph.D. diss: Bryn Mawr College, 1976).

again collected the court's most reliable and best-known artists to adorn Francesco's Studiolo, including Vincenzo Danti. In his work directly for the Medici, Danti clearly remained Vasari's subordinate. Although they both contributed objects to the construction of the Studiolo, Danti never held the position of organizer or overseer on such projects for the princes.

EPHEMERAL INSTALLATIONS FOR GIOVANNA D'AUSTRIA'S ENTRATA, 1565

In 1565, Vasari organized the artists serving the Medici court to create large ephemeral decorations to adorn the city in celebration of Prince Francesco de' Medici's wedding to Johanna von Hapsburg, or Giovanna d'Austria, sister of Emperor Maximilian I. Following the agreement in August 1564 that the two would be married, Borghini began planning the enormous program of ephemeral displays for their entrance into the city.[374] He presented Duke Cosimo with the plans for these decorations in April 1565.[375] Vasari coordinated the production of these ephemeral installations in the eight months leading up to Princess Johanna's entrance procession through the city on 16 December.[376]

Danti received two prominent commissions for ephemeral sculpture in the city, and created these objects for installation in two locations. He modeled both a gilded stucco relief of the *Visitation* for the "Porta Coeli", the temporary portal for the Cathedral, and an enormous equestrian statue of *Cosimo I Victorious over Fraud* that was

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[374] Starn and Partridge, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy*, 154-180.

[375] Rick A. Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini and *Invenzione*: The Florentine *Apparato* of 1565," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981): 57. For the letter from Borghini to Cosimo, see G. Bottari and S. Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura* (Milan: Giovanni Silvestri, 1822): 1:125-204, doc. 56.

[376] Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini and *Invenzione*," 57-58. Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:108-114, for documents that mention Danti's contributions.

installed in the Piazza Sant'Apollinare, now the Piazza San Firenze.[377] Danti was one of the most active sculptors at court in 1565, having just completed the tomb of Carlo de' Medici and two objects for Michelangelo's funeral, and with work underway on the Uffizi sculptures, When, in April, Borghini listed the artists who could be marshaled to construct the plan for fourteen monumental installations throughout the city, he noted that Danti was already at work on the coat of arms to be installed on the Uffizi.[378] Nonetheless, Borghini asserted to the duke that Danti "will help with this also, and if there is a statue of a horse to be made, it will be a job for him."[379] Given this special distinction, Borghini already seems to have deemed Danti a primary participant in the production of these ephemeral decorations, someone whose work would be of particular import, when he suggested the program to the duke in April.[380] By acknowledging Danti's special talents in this way, Borghini was following through on his 1563 promise to "find something for [Danti] to do" out of love for Sforza Almeni.[381] The social component of brokerage ties worked to Danti's advantage through his work with Vasari, Almeni, and Borghini. Thanks to these connections, Danti was given the opportunity to create an enormous equestrian sculpture that included a portrait of the duke. The recto of Borghini's drawing for Michelangelo's catafalque, mentioned above, bears the image of an elaborate pedestal and equestrian sculpture (Fig. 20). Borghini may have been looking

[377] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 227-236.

[378] Bottari-Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere*, 197: "Vincenzio Danti Perugino, sebbene ha fra mano l'arme che va in testa de' magistrati." The commission for the Uffizi façade sculptures will be described in Chapter 3.

[379] Ibid., 197: "che ei ci aiuterà anche a questo, e se si arà a fare una statua a cavallo, sarà a proposito per lui."

[380] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 229, notes this distinction as well.

[381] See Chapter 1.

for opportunities to suggest the installation of such an object.[382]Although the stucco relief that Danti produced was part of a group display on the cathedral, this equestrian sculpture was an independent installation.

Most of the ephemeral decorations consisted of large triumphal arches with allegorical themes that included both painting and sculpture. Giambologna and Francesco Moschini each made four sculptures for the *entrata*, and Domenico Poggini, Valerio Cioli, and Giovanni Bandini (dell'Opera) each made three. While these sculptors made more elements of the ephemeral decorations than Danti did, they made component pieces of larger collaborative installations. They saw their objects installed next to paintings by artists such as Santi di Tito and Alessandro Allori and alongside sculptures by other artists.[383] The list of artists who made stucco panels for the Porta Coeli can be read as a list of Danti's peers. His fellow contributors were Domenico Poggini, Giovanni Bandini, Vincenzo de' Rossi, Francesco Cammilliani, Giambologna, Stoldo Lorenzi, Jacopo Centi, and Francesco Moschino.[384] Unlike the composite installations of the triumphal arches to which these other sculptors contributed, Danti's *Cosimo I Victorious over Fraud* stood by itself in the middle of the Piazza Sant'Apollinare (now Piazza San Firenze), near the end of the processional route that culminated in the Palazzo Vecchio.[385] He was the only sculptor to receive a commission for a stand-alone object.

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[382] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 229: "Danti intended to deal with the anatomy of the horse in considerable detail in his Trattato, and perhaps Borghini knew of his studies." Utz, "Drawings and a Letter by Vincenzo Danti," 9-10, on the equestrian statue on the recto of the catafalque drawing.

[383] Ginori Conti, *L'apparato*, 136-141.

[384] Ginori Conti, *L'apparato*, 40. Conti, 40-41, writes that Borghini intended that Benvenuto Cellini also make a panel for this portal, but Cellini was not included in the final distribution of commissions. The other more established sculptor at work in Florence who did not contribute to the ephemeral decorations was Bartolomeo Ammannati. He was working to complete the Neptune figure in time for the celebrations.

[385] Conti, *L'apparato per le nozze*, 42-43. Summers found numerous documents that list the material costs for this installation but these documents have yet to be published or transcribed. Although a thorough

Members of the court who were closely associated with Danti composed descriptions of the impressive final sculpture, which was between eighteen and twenty-two feet high. He depicted the horse reared up on its hind legs, and the statue was painted in lacquer to resemble bronze.[386] Giovanni Baptista Cini, who composed the official description of the wedding procession, was a close friend of Egnazio Danti.[387] Timoteo Bottonio also composed a celebratory sonnet about the statue.[388] In its size, the sculpture was an enormous public display of Danti's sculptural virtuosity. In its singular location, it attested to the particular favor he enjoyed as a result of his connections with Vasari and Borghini. The ephemeral monument also represented the culmination of animal studies Danti later claimed to have completed in his *Treatise on Perfect Proportions*.[389]

VENUS ANADYOMENE FOR THE STUDIOLO OF FRANCESCO I IN THE PALAZZO VECCHIO IN FLORENCE

Borghini and Vasari also collaborated on the design and execution of Prince Francesco's Studiolo (Fig. 21), a small, richly adorned room adjacent to the grandiose project of his father's massive reception hall. Most recent discussions of the space focus

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account of these documents falls beyond the scope of this dissertation, I will return to that task in future work.

[386] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 231, nn 47 and 50-51.

[387] Jodoco del Badia, *Egnazio Danti cosmografo e matematico e le sue opere in Firenze: Memoria storica di Jodoco del Badia* (Florence: M. Cellini, 1881), 15, for the friendship between Cini and Egnazio. For Cini's description of Vincenzo's equestrian sculpture, see Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 8: 559. For Cini's role at the court and ties to Vasari and Borghini, Ruffini, *Art without an Author*, 93-93, 147-149.

[388] Bottonio, *Poesie Sacre*, 2:161; Schlosser, "Aus der Bildnerwerkstatt der Renaissance," 79. See Chapter 1 and Chapter 5 on Bottonio and Danti.

[389] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 229, suggested that Borghini may have known of Danti's study of the anatomy of horses. In the first book of his *Trattato delle perfette proporzioni* (1567), Danti wrote that he planned to include several chapters on the anatomy of horses in later (unpublished) volumes.

on the iconographical reading of the space as a reflection of Francesco's interests in the sciences and the cosmos.[390] As in previous collaborative projects for the Medici, Vasari coordinated the contributions of painters and sculptors. However, the works in the Studiolo addressed a far smaller audience than the Neptune Fountain, the reception hall and apartments in the Palazzo Vecchio, or the ephemeral decorations for Prince Francesco's wedding. Commissions for the Studiolo were granted to only the most accomplished or best connected artists at court, rather than to the young artists of the academy or the entire corps of artists at Vasari's disposal.[391] These artists who contributed the thirty-four paintings and eight sculptures for Francesco's study room probably never saw the space where their works were installed.[392] The paintings adorned cabinets that contained precious, volatile, or curious materials, and the subject painted on each cabinet denoted its contents. These materials were organized along the four walls of the room based on their composition of the four elements, Earth, Fire, Air, and Water. Danti was commissioned to cast a figure of *Venus Anadyomene*, shown in the process of wringing out her hair as she was born from the sea. The sculpture was installed in a niche on the Water wall.[393] The subversion of personal style to artistic unity is apparent in the Studiolo. All of the figures not only share a similar height, of ninety to one hundred centimeters, but also smooth surfaces, twisting poses, and the sloping shoulders and long

[390] Karen Victoria Edwards, "Rethinking the Installation of the Studiolo of Francesco I in Palazzo Vecchio (Ph.D. Diss: Case Western Reserve, 2007); Larry Feinberg, "The Studiolo of Francesco I Reconsidered," in The Medici, Michelangelo, and the art of Late Renaissance Florence (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 47-65; Schaefer, "The Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio," (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1976).

[391] For participants, see Feinberg, "The Studiolo of Francesco I Reconsidered," 52-52, 62 n3.

[392] Edwards, "Rethinking the Installation of the Studiolo," 29.

[393] Edwards, "Rethinking the Installation of the Studiolo," 111-112; Feinberg, "Studiolo of Francesco I Reconsidered," 54-56; Marco Campigli, "Venere Anadiomene," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 330-332.

torsos of the female figures.[394] The artists who participated were the most prominent in Florence.

Professional prestige and brokerage connections were key to the assignment of works in this space. The most famous and prominent sculptors who had worked for the Medici court were invited to contribute bronze statuettes. Bartolommeo Ammannati, another of Vasari's artist-clients who had designed and managed major architectural and sculptural programs for the Medici court since the mid-1550s, created a figure of *Ops* for one niche. Giambologna, Francesco's favored sculptor, contributed an *Apollo* figure. The authorship of all the bronzes in the room is documented with the exception of the *Venus Anadyomene* by Danti (Fig. 22). That the *Venus* figure is his, however, has not been questioned since Herbert Keutner attributed it to him in 1958.[395] As Keutner noted, Danti's own departure from Florence in 1576, around the time of the sculpture's completion and valuation, may be the reason for his absence in the documentary record. In this setting, Danti had the opportunity to visually compete with Giambologna, who later attained the position of primary court sculptor that Danti seems to have coveted.

In the same years when he designed and cast this small bronze statuette for Francesco's Studiolo, Danti also created his bulky figures of *St. Luke* and *Cosimo I/Joshua* for the meeting space of the Accademia del Disegno and cast the massive bronze sculptures for the portal of the Baptistery. During Danti's service to the Medici, the task of meeting the terms of court patronage depended on an artist's ability to juggle

[394] Edwards, "Rethinking the Installation of the Studiolo," 76-79, for measurements of the figures.

[395] Herbert Keutner, "The Palazzo Pitti Venus and Other Works by Vincenzo Danti," *Burlington Magazine 100* (1958): 428. Lione Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti perugini*, 140, also described a small bronze figure by Danti, a Venus "in atto di rilegarsi le trecce."

multiple professional relationships. All his projects were directed by higher-ranking artists and overseers, and Danti worked on independent and collective commissions simultaneously. The outpouring of Medici patronage of the visual arts created a new bureaucracy of intermediate patrons, such as Vasari, Borghini, and Ammannati, to whom court artists reported. In later projects, Danti himself served on oversight committees.

Among all these intermediate patrons, Vasari had a unique role in shaping Danti's professional persona in Florence. The collaborations between these two men help us define the complexity of the network in which they worked. Artists demonstrated their *virtù* not only through single works, such as the *Honor that Conquers Deceit* discussed in Chapter One, but also through ongoing competition with one another made visible in group projects. Vasari's vision for enormous installations provided Danti opportunities to prove his talents in direct comparison to the works of native Florentine artists. Vasari apparently considered Danti a consistently successful contributor to the artistic program associated with the Medici court, as he chose Danti for increasingly visible and prestigious projects.

The stylistic flexibility that Danti demonstrated in these projects served him well. From the geometric borders of the *sportello* to the seemingly sponteneously shaped figures in the Moses panel, which still bears his fingerprints, and from the anachronism of his relief style in the tombs of Carlo de' Medici and Beato Giovanni da Salerno to the smooth, twisting forms of the *Venus Anadyomene*, Danti proved himself capable to the tasks Vasari asked of him. Through these commissions directed by Vasari, Danti demonstrated his technical abilities and his competence in visual *fiorentinismo* to a constellation of court patrons.

Chapter 3: Adorning the Uffizi: Danti's Facade Sculptures and Cosimo's Arts Administration

In his 1857 painting, *Le ombre dei grandi uomini fiorentini*, Eugenio Agneni, painter to Pope Pius IX and Queen Victoria, reimagined the famous Florentines represented in the niches of the Piazzale degli Uffizi as ghostly spectres, bursting from their niches to soar through the loggia of the *testata*, the short arm of the Uffizi building that runs along the Arno river (Fig. 23).[396] Most visitors to the piazza today probably do not realize that these statues of Florence's intellectual giants were created in the mid-nineteenth century, just before Agneni imagined their uprising (Fig. 24). Between 1842 and 1856, twenty-four sculptors filled these niches with a program of statues of famous Florentines. These sculptors created a program based on the one originally envisioned for this space by Duke Cosimo and Vasari, the architect of the Uffizi, in the 1560s.[397] Had they been completed, the *uomini famosi* statues that Cosimo and Vasari planned for the Uffizi would have constituted the largest public program of monumental sculpture in Renaissance Florence.

Vincenzo Danti created two statues for this facade project between 1564 and 1566 that still remain in their original positions on the Uffizi's testata (Fig. 25), and he began work on four more, one of which is now in the Bargello and one that was adapted for use

[396] Currently in storage of the Galleria d'Arte Moderna in Turin. Giovanna Giusti, "Illustri cives, forti d'animo e d'azione," in *L'Italia chiamò, gli Uffizi per i 150 anni*, ed. Carlo Sisi (Florence: Silvana Editoriale, 2011), 23-35. See also, http://www.gamtorino.it/en/opera.php?id=130 (accessed May 30, 2013).

[397] On the nineteenth-century sculpture program, see Régine Bonnefoit, "Die Statuen der berühmten Toskaner im Hof der Uffizien," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 43 (1999): 103-188; Stefania Iacopozzi, "Il ciclo scultoreo degli Uffizi: Genesi e sviluppo di un progetto non solo celebrativo," in *Gli uomini illustri del loggiato degli Uffizi: Storia e restauro*, ed. Magnolia Scudieri (Firenze: Edifir, 2001), 15-33.

in the Boboli gardens. This chapter clarifies the complicated narratives of these figures' planning and execution as it also addresses Danti's multifaceted professional roles in the administrative network that coordinated the construction and decoration of the Uffizi. Danti worked almost continuously on the production of sculptures for the Uffizi facade from the time of the first commission for figures in 1564 through his last years in Florence. However, the construction of a coherent narrative for Danti's work for the Uffizi has been complicated by an inconsistent and seemingly contradictory documentary record. This chapter represents the first close reading of these documents since David Summers's doctoral dissertation on Vincenzo Danti, completed in 1969. In his dissertation, Summers created a persuasive description of Danti's work for the Uffizi that ties both Danti's *Cosimo I as Augustus*[398] (Fig. 26) and his Boboli *Perseus* (Fig. 27) to the testata figure group.[399] This new look at the documents suggests a slightly different narrative. A reconstruction of the design, completion, and installation of these figures must, however, remain untidy due to the vagaries of payments and professional roles in the centralized administration of the ducal court. Although the documentary record presents no clear answers, only persuasive suggestions, this examination of Danti's work

[398] Louis A. Waldman, "The Recent Vincenzo Danti Exhibition in Florence," *Burlington Magazine* 150 (2008): 681-682, has pointed out that this designation represents an anachronistic interpretation, born of a specific reading of the fragmentary documentary evidence. This chapter upholds the designation of the statue as Augustus, which would have joined the reclining Equity and Rigor sculptures to complete the adornment of the short facade with an *emblema* device. For the prevalence of such *embleme* in Medici court culture, see Rick Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini and the *Impresa*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989): 85-110; Marco Ruffini, *Art without an Author: Vasari's Lives and Michelangelo's Death* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 30-35.

[399] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 165-171, 305-307. In his appendices, the Medici Coat of Arms with the statues of *Equity* and *Rigor* comprise catalogue entry no. 15, 396-397, and the Perseus in the Boboli Gardens follows as no. 16, 398-9. Summers concludes that catalogue entry no. 26, "Standing Allegorical Portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici," 421-424, was installed on the testata and remained in place until removed to be replaced by Giambologna's 1585 portrait of the Duke.

on the Uffizi sculpture program also situates this sculptor within the centralized structures through which Cosimo's court administrated production of the visual arts in Florence.

THE UFFIZI: OVERVIEW

In 1560, construction began on a new building between the Piazza della Signoria and the Arno river. Duke Cosimo I intended that this structure would consolidate administration of the magistracies and guilds, whose offices were previously scattered throughout Florence.[400] Sixteenth-century documents refer to this building as the *Magistrati* or, during construction, as *la fabbrica* (the structure).[401] In most cases, this chapter will refer to it as the Uffizi, its most common modern descriptor. The primary architectural components of the building consist of two long wings of office spaces, three stories high. These two long galleries are connected by a short wing, known as the testata, along the Arno river (Fig. 28). These three wings abut adjacent structures except for the open space of the piazza that they surround, so the facade of the building that houses the sculptural program consists of a U-shaped, inward-facing elevation (Fig. 29). The architectural and sculptural adornment of the facade is visible from three primary areas: the piazza, the loggia that leads to the Arno riverbank, and the southeast corner of the Piazza della Signoria.

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[400] Iacopozzi, "Il ciclo scultoreo degli Uffizi," 15-16; Henk Th. van Veen, *The Self-Representation of Cosimo I de' Medici Representation in Florentine Art and Culture*, trans. Andrew P. McCormick (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 81; Leon Satkowski, *Giorgio Vasari, Architect and Courtier* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 26-30; Johanna Lessmann, "Gli Uffizi: Aspetti di funzione, tipologia e significato urbanistico," *RILA* 3 (1976): 233-234.

[401] For examples of the use of "Magistrati" and "la fabbrica" or "la fabrica," see Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:54, 70, 76 and throughout Appendix 2.

Recent scholars have identified the testata's tall *serliana* arch, which reaches from the podium of the ground floor loggia to the window-level of the *primo piano*, as a reference to Roman imperial architecture.[402] Henk van Veen argues that the entire building, including its sculpture program, was conceived by Cosimo and Vasari as a Florentine counterpart to the ancient imperial forum of Augustus, adjacent to the forum of the republic and filled with a sculpture program meant to celebrate the republican past.[403] The building was the largest civic commission of Cosimo's rule and tied his administration to the local administration of the city. When Danti created statues for this site, these objects exemplified a new kind of rule in Florence and adorned a new structure intended as the bureaucratic center of Cosimo's court, built to benefit the city even as it communicated his control of civic functions.

PARTICIPANTS AND SOURCES

The bulk of scholarship on this building and its decoration addresses questions about Duke Cosimo's patronage and what he intended this building to do for and mean to Florentines.[404] Of the extant documents about this project, most are reports to Cosimo I

[402] For the iconographic interpretation of the serliana architectural form, see Johanna Lessmann, "Gli Uffizi," 243-244; and Roger Crum, "'Cosmos, the World of Cosimo': The Iconography of the Uffizi Facade," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 238-245.

[403] Iacopozzi, "Il ciclo scultoreo degli Uffizi," 15-33; Lessmann, "Gli Uffizi," 233-243; van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici*, 81-86; Crum, "Cosmos," 237-241, 247-248.

[404] Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny*, 282-83; Satkowski, *Giorgio Vasari*, 29-36; Claudia Conforti, "Gli Uffizi e il corridoio Vasariano nella rifondazione di Firenze ducale," in *Vasari, gli Uffizi, e il duca* (Florence: Giunti and Firenze Musei, 2011), 61-71; Claudia Conforti, "Ordine et disegno, disegno et ordine: la Fabbrica degli Uffizi," in *Vasari, gli Uffizi, e il duca*, 200-213; Valentina Conticelli, "Da emblema mediceo a icona di Firenze," in *Vasari, gli Uffizi, e il duca*, 292-309. For similarities of the Uffizi architecture and piazza space to medieval and Renaissance precedents, see Nello Bemporad, "Considerazioni sul fabbricato degli Uffizi," in *Il Vasari: Storiografo e artista* (Florence, Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1974), 230-232; Johanna Lessmann, "Gli Uffizi: Aspetti di funzione, tipologia, e significato urbanistico," in *Il Vasari: Storiografo e artista*, 238-247.

on the progress of construction and decoration of the Uffizi. These letters describe completed work and also pose requests for funds, staff, and materials.[405] Cosimo's replies to these updates appear in the form of notes transcribed into registers of his correspondence. Beginning in 1566, Prince Francesco gradually assumed more direct control over the Uffizi project, and he appears in the documentary record from that time.[406]

A foundation document of 30 August 1560, appointed five *provveditori*, or overseers, to form a committee that would administer the construction of the new *Magistrati* building.[407] These *cinque provveditori* were Giovanni Accaiuoli, Giovanni Baldovinetti, Cristofano Spini, Antonio de' Nobili, and Francesco da Sangallo. Each of these men held additional roles in Duke Cosimo's administrative bureaucracy.[408] Accaiuoli, Baldovinetti and Spini each served as an overseer of one of the magistracies that were about to be rehoused in this new structure. Accaiuoli was overseer of the Arte dei Mercatanti (formerly the wool merchants' guild, or the Calimala) and the Ufficali dei Pupilli (the office of guardianship for minors);[409] Baldovinetti served as overseer of the

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[405] See for instance, Cosimo writing to Bernardo Puccini from Pisa in December 1562. Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass: Neue Briefe*, 3:196, Appendix 2 (the Uffizi), doc. 8.

[406] Ugo Dorini, "Come sorse la fabbrica degli Uffizi," *Rivista storica degli archivi toscani* 11 (1933): 30.

[407] ASF *Nove conservatori del dominio e della giurisdizione fiorentina* [hereafter Nove conservatori] 3710, 1r. Also published in Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass: Neue Briefe*, 3:190-191; Johanna Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien Giorgio Vasaris in Florenz," Ph.D. diss (Bonn, Rheinischen Friederich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1975); *Deliberazioni di partiti della fabbrica de' 13 magistrati*, ed. Claudia Conforti and Francesco Funis (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2007), 1r.

[408] Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien," 62-63.

[409] Thomas Kuehn, "Law, Death, and Heirs in the Renaissance: Repudiation of Inheritance in Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 45 (1992): 484.

Ufficio della Grascia (the office of food or provisions);[410] and Spini was superintendent of the Ufficio delle Vendite e Decime (the office of land taxes).[411] In addition to these members of the Duke's administration, Antonio de' Nobili was a member of Cosimo's Pratica Segreta, the committee of his closest counselors.[412] In the Uffizi's foundation document, Nobili also was listed as the superintendent of the Ufficio dei Nove Conservatori del Dominio, the new magistracy structure that Cosimo had founded to centralize his administration of Tuscany.[413] Nobili's roles thus tied the construction and decoration of the Uffizi to the powerful decision-making bodies in Cosimo's administration.

Francesco da Sangallo, the only artist of the cinque provveditori, contributed his practical knowledge of materials and construction from his experience as the *capomaestro*, or director, of the cathedral works in the 1540s.[414] Francesco's family had long been associated with Medici service, as he was the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent's

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[410] Laura Ikens Stern, *The Criminal Law System of Medieval and Renaissance Florence* (College Park, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 102-106; Eric Dursteler, "Food and Politics" in *A Cultural History of Food, The Renaissance, c. 1300-1600* (Oxford: Berg, 2012), 3:85.

[411] Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien," 63. For Cosimo's changes to the structure of magistracies and oversight of Florence, see Nicholas Terpstra, "Competing Visions of the State and Social Welfare: The Medici Dukes, the Bigallo Magistrates, and Local Hospitals in Sixteenth-Century Tuscany," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 1321-1323; Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy: The Florentine Patricians, 1530-1790* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 74-75, 110-114. For the magistracies to be housed in the Uffizi, see Satkowski, *Giorgio Vasari*, 33.

[412] Jonathan Davies, *Culture and Power: Tuscany and its Universities 1537-1609* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 38, on the Pratica Segreta as "a private council of the duke which was created in 1547 without public discussion. Although its role was never defined, it was basically consultative and it was more concerned with jurisdictional and economic matters than with political ones." Also Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy*, 77-83, 95-96.

[413] Davies, *Culture and Power*, 40-41.

[414] Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien," 63. John Pope-Hennessy, *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, 4th edition (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1996), 3:465.

favorite architect, Giuliano da Sangallo. In his own service to the duke, Francesco had deftly survived the shifts in artistic patronage that accompanied Pierfrancesco Riccio's oversight and then Vasari's gradual rise in power.[415] In addition to overseeing the work of Vasari and Danti on the Uffizi, Sangallo was also one of the founding members of the Accademia del Disegno.[416] Sangallo's ties to the Medici family and the city far predated those of Danti, of course, but Sangallo and Danti were united by their membership in the Accademia del Disegno. They both held administrative roles in the academy's project to decoration of the Cappella di San Luca later in the 1560s.[417]

Together, this committee of five overseers was assigned the duty to direct the progress and completion of this building, a role much like that of committees assigned by guilds in the early Renaissance to oversee specific commissions.[418] Most documentation of the Uffizi's construction appears in the register created to record the activities, accounts, and letters of this administrative body of five, the Cinque Provveditori della Fabbrica de' Magistrati.[419] This register, published in its entirety in 2007, contains

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[415] In January 1545, he had matriculated in the Accademia Fiorentina, as well. See Mary Ann Jack, "The Accademia del Disegno in Late Renaissance Florence," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 7 (1976): 5; Detlef Heikamp, "Rapporti fra accademici ed artisti nella Firenze del '500," *Il Vasari* 1 (1957): 141.

[416] Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno*. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 29.

[417] David Summers, "The Sculptural Program of the Cappella di San Luca in the Santissima Annunziata," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 14 (1969): 71.

[418] Hannelore Glasser, "Artists' Contracts of the Early Renaissance" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1965), 29 and 43, for committees of the Arte del Cambio who administered the commission and payment for Ghiberti's statue of St. Matthew for Orsanmichele in 1419; 44, for the construction of the Fonte Gaia in Siena, 1408/09. The record books of these committees document verbal agreements or duplicate written contracts; O'Malley, *The Business of Art: Contracts and the Commissioning Process in Renaissance Italy* (New York and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 10; Glasser, "Artists' Contracts," 57-58.

[419] ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, f. 1r: "Questo libri si chiama Libro Primo di Deliberationi et Partiti delli Spectabilis.si Cinque Proveditori della Fabbrica de Nuovi siti de Magistrati nella via de magistrati, electi et deputati dall Ill.mo et Ecc.mo Sig.r Nostro il S.r Cosimo de Medici Duca Secondo di Fiorenza et di Siena

primarily the memoranda of letters that this body composed and sent to Cosimo to apprise him of construction progress.[420]

Another major focus of modern scholarship on the Uffizi has treated Vasari's role as architect and the speed with which he ensured the construction was completed.[421] Vasari not only designed the building and oversaw the work that Danti completed to adorn it, but also coordinated the logistics of construction in partnership with members of the ducal bureaucracy throughout Tuscany.[422] Vasari's assistant for the Uffizi project, Francesco Mosca (il Moschino), was also a sculptor and a contemporary of Danti.[423] Moschino ran critical errands at the marble quarries and ports near the Apuan Alps and Pisa and coordinated the transportation of marble inland to Florence.[424] His letters to Vasari and other members of this network describe the transit of marble for the Uffizi sculptures from the Apuan Alps to the geographic and administrative center in Florence.[425]

Primo, sotto di xxvi Giugno.M. D. lx. Cominciato per me Giuliano di S Giovanni Spetiali da Terranuova not.o publico Fiorentino, et lor Cancelliere."

[420] Conforti and Funis, eds., *Deliberazioni di partiti della fabbrica de' 13 magistrati*.

[421] For instance, *Vasari, gli Uffizi, e il Duca*.

[422] Frey's third volume of Vasari's correspondence contains the vast bulk of the remaining documentation for the Uffizi's construction, although the second Appendix includes correspondence by other members of the bureaucratic team/network responsible for erecting the building. Nonetheless, this compendium necessarily emphasizes the role of architect rather than those of his partners and collaborators.

[423] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 6:306, 309. Moschino's marble Diana and Actaeon relief is in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, and his large marble *Atalanta and Meleager with the Calydonian Boar* is in the collection of the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City.

[424] Frey-Vasari, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:54, 76, 79.

[425] Both Moschino and Danti also contributed to the 1565 ephemeral decorations for the marriage of Prince Francesco and Giovanna d'Austria. For a history of these quarries and the Medici connections to them, see William Wallace, *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo: The Genius as Entrepreneur* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 15-74; Luigi Zangheri, "I marmi dell'Ammannati," *Bartolomeo Ammannati scultore e architetto*, ed. Niccolò Rosselli del Turco and Federica Salvi (Florence: Alinea, 1995), 312-328.

Outside Florence, Matteo Inghirami, the provveditore of the marble quarries in Pietrasanta, and Giovanni Caccini, the provveditore of the port of Pisa, also coordinated the provision of materials for this sculpture program. Inghirami and Caccini facilitated the transportation of marble for the sculptures Danti would produce, and Danti worked closely with Inghirami while he was in Pietrasanta in 1567 and 1568.[426] Cosimo and Vasari both wrote to Inghirami and Caccini to request that marble be shipped inland to Florence for the Uffizi project, although the responses of these provveditori are lost.

In addition to the original five overseers, further staff were nominated and confirmed to perform administrative roles for the Uffizi project. Most important among these additional staff, Bernardo Puccini was first listed as an addendum to the original foundation letter of the cinque provveditori, in a note dated June 1561.[427] From this time, he served as general overseer for the Uffizi construction and corresponded with other administrators, including directly with the duke.[428] Puccini had been a military architect and engineer during the assault on Siena; he oversaw the construction until prince Francesco dissolved the cinque provveditori and directed construction himself, starting in 1570.[429]

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[426] Giovanni Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI* (reprinted Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1968; from Florence: Giuseppe Molini, 1840), 3:251-256.

[427] ASF Nove Cons. 3710 1r: "fu da S. E. I. ordinato in nuovo proveditore di detta fabbrica Bernardo di Francesco Puccini" (His most excellent and illustrious highness ordered a new overseer of the construction: Bernardo di Francesco Puccini). Published in Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:190-191.

[428] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:196, etc.

[429] Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien," 67; Francesca Funis, "Bernardo Puccini, Rilievo topografico del castello del Monte a Santa Maria Tiberina (Perugia)," in *Vasari, gli Uffizi, e il duca*, 382.

In 1564, Vincenzo Danti received the commission to adorn this enormous structure with marble sculptures, works he would complete under the oversight of all the previously named participants. The Uffizi façade project was the largest, most publicly visible commission Danti received in Florence. His works for Cosimo I had grown in scope and visibility from the time of his arrival in Florence through his completion of the tomb of Carlo de' Medici in Prato in 1564.[430] The statues for the inner façade of the Uffizi complex were also the most prestigious commission he had received, and he completed the first and most prominent sculptures in this program by 1566. Had he finished not only all four *testata* sculptures but also the figures of St. Cosmas, St. Peter and the other niche statues, this would have been the largest project of his career.[431] Had time and money permitted the completion of the program for the twenty-eight empty niches, and had Danti completed even a handful of those sculptures, the project would be considered largely his. These works would have dramatically boosted the visibility of his contributions to the Medici court during his lifetime and today.

Danti's own voice appears rarely in the documentary record. Indirectly, he pled for the delivery of marbles through his brother, Egnazio Danti, in May 1564, and he also requested salary payments, according to register of the cinque provveditori.[432] The only extant correspondence from Danti connected to this project consists of two letters he wrote to prince Francesco in the summer of 1568. In these letters, described below, Danti

[430] See Chapters 1 and 2.

[431] See below for the commission of the St. Peter sculpture, destined for one of the niches flanking the entrance to the church of San Pier Scheraggio. The letter of 31 October 1569 from the provveditori of the Uffizi to Cosimo reminded the duke that he requested that Vincenzo Danti and Andrea Calamech be commissioned for these niche sculptures, Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe,* 3:203.

[432] For instance, Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:75.

described the quality of marble in Seravezza and suggested how to extract it.[433] Henk van Veen and David Summers consider Danti's dedication of his 1567 *Trattato delle perfette proporzioni* to Cosimo as a request to be allowed to undertake work on the central testata statue.[434] If Danti did intend his treatise as a negotiating tool to begin more sculptures for the Uffizi, the dedication offers a third iteration of his voice in the documentary record about the Uffizi decoration.[435]

The inability to access lost documentation and verbal interaction among members of the construction network presents the greatest obstacle to a reconstruction of the design and execution of the Uffizi's sculpture program. Despite these lacunae, Danti's allegorical sculptures of *Equity* and *Rigor*, still reclining on facade of the Uffizi's testata, prompt questions about the program to decorate the building in the 1560s. This chapter presents the documentation for the project chronologically, to evaluate the evidence in an orderly way that corresponds to the progress of work in sixteenth century. A chronological approach to the evidence complicates and enriches the narrative of the Uffizi construction and allows us to track which aspects of the commission were most important to its participants. The documents demonstrate that these sculptures were planned collectively, or in pairs, and that planning and execution of the sculpture program moved forward in conjuction with the overall architectural project.

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[433] Gaye, *Carteggio*, 3:251-254, doc. 29, 254-256, doc. 30.

[434] van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici*, 84; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 170.

[435] As suggested in Chapters 4 and 5 below, the treatise served multiple functions for Danti's career, demonstrating his competance in the Aristotelian philosophy espoused by other members of the Accademia Fiorentina as well as showcasing his familiarity with another of Duke Cosimo's own interests, that of anatomical dissection.

1560 - 1564: UFFIZI PLANNING AND DANTI'S CONNECTION TO THE SCULPTURE PROGRAM

Vasari and Cosimo originally intended the sculptures as an integral component of the Uffizi building, as shown by the coincidence of the Uffizi construction and the commission of sculptures for the testata. The rapid design and construction of the building allowed time for no major change in the architectural or decorative program between the foundation of the Uffizi in 1560 and the commission of the testata figures in 1564. In November 1562, Vasari presented a wood model of the façade to Cosimo and the cinque provedditori.[436] The register book of the provveditori includes price quotations and anticipated dates of completion for various pietra serena components of the façade from the same year; plans for the exterior adornment of the building had begun.[437] In December 1563, the provveditori reported to Cosimo that construction of the loggia vaults was underway.[438] For this installation to proceed, the piers of the loggia and their pietra serena sculpture niches would necessarily have been installed sometime between the presentation of Vasari's model and the vault construction in December 1563. The brief turnaround time between design and construction strongly suggests that these niches, and therefore the sculptures they would house, comprised the original decorative scheme for the Uffizi.

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[436] ASF, Nove Conservatori 3170, 26r: "ne ordinammo si facessi il modello di legname in forma propria et grande…et considerato et veduto che tal modello con le sue appartenenze corrispondeva et corrisponde al iuditio nostro al resto dello edifitio iuxta il disegno che messer Giogrio ne allega da principio esser' stato ordinato, per debito nostro cè parso d'el tucto advisarne l'Eccellentia disegno, accioche La ne possa deliberar' quanto Le piacera." Also Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:195. Bernardo Puccini wrote to Cosimo on the same day, 2 November 1562, to report that the model had been ordered.

[437] ASF, Nove Conservatori 3710, 23v, 26v, 27v, etc.

[438] ASF, Nove Conservatori 3710, 32r: "Et le volte che comprehendeno le dette cinque parti et vani si son gettate et à un sol vano resta a mettere il tetto, quale in brevi giorni sara messo su." Also Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:196-197.

Despite an absence of documentation of the planned subject matter, artists, or materials for these sculptures in the early 1560s, the installation of twenty-eight niches indicates that Cosimo and his administrators expected that all of these sculptures would be completed. For such an enormous visual program associated with Cosimo's rule, one expects some discussion of iconography to appear in correspondence between Vincenzo Borghini and Giorgio Vasari.[439] Unfortunately, the record remains silent on this account. The scale of this project, in the quarrying and transportation of such a volume of marble or the number of sculptors' hours to create such a program, was unprecedented. Thus, Cosimo and his administrators' initial estimates for its costs must have been nearly as speculative as ours would be today. Written requests for materials constitutes the only extant documentation of the planning for the Uffizi façade sculptures.

The first orders to quarry statuary marble for the Uffizi mention Vincenzo Danti, an indication he was intended as the primary sculptor on this program from the time of its inception. In September 1563, Vasari informed Giovanni Caccini, provveditore of Pisa, that Francesco Moschino was in Carrara to allocate marble for two figures and a coat of arms for the Uffizi.[440] Vasari requested that Caccini give Moschino up to ten *scudi* to pay for these marble blocks and assured Caccini that he would be reimbursed from the *Magistrati* accounts.[441] This letter reveals some of the mechanisms of ducal commissions, as Vasari apparently wrote simultaneously to both men; Moschino was to harvest the

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[439] For Borghini's role as iconographer for Cosimo I's court, see Rick Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini and *Invenzione*: The Florentine Apparato of 1565," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981): 57-75.

[440] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:54: "Io vi daro briga che mandiate questa alelba et questa altera al Mostino a Cararra (sic), et perche lui cava certi marmi per fare una arme ai magistrati per sua Eccellentia con dua figure."

[441] Ibid., 3:54: "se il Moschino volessi fino a (scudi) dieci, pagategli et avisate, che subito li faro rimetere alla .S. V. dalla fabrica, et quando sono in Pisa avisate."

marble under Caccini's advice and Caccini was to give Moschino the money to pay for the marbles. Vasari instructed Caccini to have the blocks sent to Pisa and to alert him (Vasari) when the blocks arrived there. On 13 October 1563, Francesco Moschino also wrote to Caccini to request the release of ten scudi to pay for marble blocks intended for Vincenzo Danti.[442] Herman-Walther Frey interpreted this letter as the earliest link between Danti and the Uffizi commission.[443] Although Moschino's missive does not mention the project for which the marbles were intended, two circumstances support Frey's assertion. First, at the time, Danti was finishing the Carlo de' Medici tomb, his only other major commission that year, and therefore had no need of marble for that project. Second, Francesco Moschino's request for exactly ten scudi serves as the crucial link between these two letters. By fall 1563, a specific sculpture commission of two marble figures and a coat of arms had been planned for the Uffizi and Vincenzo Danti was already the intended artist.[444]

The participation of others within the Medici network also facilitated the process by which the marble blocks arrived in Pisa and were transported to Florence in March 1564. Vincenzo's brother, Egnazio Danti, then at work on Cosimo's guardaroba,[445] also

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[442] Ibid., 3:55. This document reveals yet another level of status and service to the court as Moschino himself did not retrieve these funds but asked that the money be released to "my boy:" "meli mandera per il mio garzone." Moschino also seems to have been confused about the provveditore's first name, as he addressed his letter to "Vincentio" Caccini, but gave the same title (His Excellency's Overseer in Pisa) and same details of information that Vasari had included in his letter to Caccini, a suggestion that the conversation about marble blocks and payment had already begun and Moschino made an error in the name of the person he was contacting.

[443] Ibid., 3:55nn.

[444] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:5, for marble that Moschino had ordered for Danti to make the tomb of Carlo de' Medici in Prato one year earlier. That marble, too, was selected and sent by Moschino for a payment of 10 scudi.

[445] Francesca Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 21-26; Mark Rosen, "A New Chronology of the Construction and Restoration

wrote to Giovanni Caccini about these marble blocks on 3 March 1564. The second paragraph of his brief letter focused entirely on his brother's need for the Uffizi marble blocks; Egnazio emphasized both the logistical need for the blocks' delivery and that their arrival would bring pleasure to both the duke and his sculptor.[446] Just a day later, 4 March, Francesco Moschino also wrote a letter to Caccini in Pisa, intending that the letter would accompany the delivery of the marble blocks: "The carrier of this letter will consign to you two pieces of marble, each two *carrate* in weight… which are for Mr. Vincenzo Danti, the sculptor."[447] Caccini was asked to pay for these blocks, at the rate of ten *lire* per cartload, and send them to Florence as soon as possible. In these negotiations for such an enormous project, and in the relations between two siblings in service to Cosimo, mechanisms of mutual brokerage are apparent. Fulfilling the terms of Danti's contract served the interests of all involved.

Letters that describe these early stages of the Uffizi sculpture program also chronicle Vasari's anxiety about the transportation of these first marble blocks for the testata facade. Throughout the winter and spring of 1564, Vasari discussed the marble blocks and his urgent need for them in his correspondence with Giovanni Caccini.[448] On

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of the Medici Guardaroba in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institutes in Florenz*, 53 (2009), 285-308.

[446] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:75: "Vincentio, mio fratello, saluta V. S.a et dice che, quando seranno venuti la li suoi marmi, quella li mandi qua quanto piu presto pote, che li faro piacere grandissimo et rimetter alli la li danari subbito."

[447] Ibid., 3:79: "Lapportatore di questa vi consegnera due pezzi di marmo, di dui carrate el' pezzo, e (et) quatro pezzi per 4 teste, che sono una carrata, quali sono di messer Vincentio Danti scultore, e mi disse, quando fu qua, che avrebbe lasciato lordine a V. S. di pagare questi noli, che sono a 10 lire le carrata, lire 50; e mi farete servitio di mandarli questa inclusa quanto prima, acio possa sollecitare el farli condurre a Firenze, e perche li barcaroli anno bisogno di cavi e legni per iscaricare, V. S. gli facci favore di farneli acomodare, che cosi fano a tutti gli altri." For measurements, see Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli*, xxxi-ii.

[448] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:70, 16 February: "apresso sendo conparsi e marmi da Carrara di Messer Vincentio da Perugia, che la .S. V. quanto prima gli facci caricare e cegli mandi, perche ne auiano (abbiamo) bisognio, che tutto vi si sara rinborsare alla fabrica de Magistrati"; 73, 4 March: "come sono arivati gli marmi dell opera de Magistrati, mandategli subito"; 74, 11 March: "spettiano e marmi".

March 4, the same day that Moschino sent the marble blocks to Pisa, Vasari composed a letter to Giovanni Caccini, in which he restated, "as the marbles for the Magistrati arrive, send them immediately."[449] Vasari continued his entreaties that the marble should be sent from Pisa to Florence at the earliest moment possible. In an April letter to Caccini, Vasari shared that he had received notice from Moschino that the two Uffizi marble blocks had arrived in Pisa. He urged that the blocks be sent upriver to Florence as soon as possible and he relayed the entreaties of Danti: "Messer Danti has need of them."[450] The volume of the river Arno, deep with melted snows in early spring, gradually became shallower as summer approached, and navigating barges upriver became more difficult. Vasari implored Caccini to send the marble upstream to Florence while the waters of the Arno remained deep, between the spring thaws and the dry weather of summer: "you should send the marbles as soon as possible, while the waters in the river can carry them."[451]

By 22 April, Vasari's letters betray his near-desperation for the marble blocks; he asked that, if not both, at least one of the two large pieces for the Uffizi project be sent as soon as possible, because "the Duke was promised that by S. Giovanni he would find it at a good end," that is, by 24 June, the feast of St. John the Baptist, the project would be

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[449] Ibid., 3:73. "et come sono arivati gli marmi dell opera de Magistrati, madategli subito." This excerpt comprises the penultimate line of a very brief letter. The verb tense may suggest that Vasari understood the marbles had already arrived, although Moschino only sent them from Carrara on that same day.

[450] Ibid., 3:76: 12 April portion: "Per una del Moschino intendiano che i marmi de Magistrati cie duo pezzi son conparsi costi. La .S. V. (Signoria Vostra), perche naviamo (n'abbiamo) bisognio et Messer Vincentio si sita, vi preghiamo che facciate obera di farli subito caricare per Fiorenza, accio si possa far detto lavoro. Et le lettere vostre il Signor spedalingho le a (ha) fatte et lui dice che vele mandera per la prima comodita." This reference to the "Spedalingho," is the only reference to Vincenzo Borghini, the director of the "Spedale" in Florence and Cosimo I's chief iconographer. 15 April portion: "Messer Vincenzo Perugino è vostrissimo."

[451] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:76: "La S. V. si degni mandare i marmi quanto prima, atteso che mentro sara aqua nel fiume potran condursi."

well underway.[452] This statement presents an impossible deadline: major headway on an over life-sized marble sculpture in two months. By sharing this time constraint, Vasari either sought to bluff Caccini, presumably implying that a missed deadline would implicate Caccini as well, or simply to share to startling fact that Vasari had misled or overinflated the duke's expectations.[453] In this same letter, he reminded Caccini that this shipment "means the honor, the function, and the contentment of the whole (project), of me and Mr. Vincenzo, in addition to the duke's command."[454] Vasari's urgency demonstrates that the sculpture constituted a critical component of the Uffizi's construction; in order to complete the building, Danti needed to complete the sculpture. While the architectural pietra serena materials were quarried locally, the importation of statuary marble by river, and the dependence of that shipping schedule on the natural rhythms of the river's depth, threatened to delay progress on the Uffizi.

Vasari's anxious demands suggest that the blocks may have sat in Pisa for an extended period of time. Nonetheless, the blocks left Carrara on 4 March, arrived in Pisa in mid-April, and completed their journey to Florence on 13 May. This two-month process represents a relatively rapid transportation chain, facilitated by the court's extensive network of administrators.[455] Missing from the documentation of shipments,

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[452] Ibid., 3:77: "ma sarebbe bene inportato se non tutta dua, almeno un de que marmi per l'arme de magistrati, che si promesse al duca che a San Giovanni la trovarebbe a buon termine, a tenendto questo ordina non sera cominciata." Vasari repeats this plea for at least one of the two blocks throughout the letter.

[453] See Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 1:668-669, for the letter in which Vasari promised Cosimo that the Magistrati would be well completed by San Giovanni.

[454] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:78: "inporta l'onore, l'utile e il contento di questo universale, di messer Vincentio e mio, oltre il comandarlo il Duca."

[455] Wallace, *Genius as Entrepreneur*, 43; Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Les maîtres du marbre: Carrare 1300-1600* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1969): 69-76, 186-197.

however, is any official notice of the date when these impatiently awaited marble blocks were loaded into a barge and directed upstream from Pisa to Florence. The only extant notice that they had been shipped was the announcement of their arrival; Vasari wrote to Giovanni Caccini on 13 May to report that the blocks had reached Florence.[456] In this same letter, Vasari also urged Caccini to send two additional pieces of marble to Florence for the Uffizi, while the waters of the river remained high.[457] While Vasari specified neither the artist nor the intended destination of these two further blocks, his urgency about the two blocks just discussed indicates an immediate concern for the Uffizi statues. His focus on the Uffizi program supports Frey's claim that this request for two more blocks of marble represents a call for materials for the coat of arms and figure of the duke, the next phase of the Uffizi facade program.[458] However, Vasari did not state on 13 May whether these blocks already had been quarried nor what their intended subject or placement was to be.

While the first two marble blocks were shipped to and arrived in Florence, the testata itself was under construction. In May 1564, the cinque provveditori updated Cosimo I on the progress of construction. Many of the vaults on the ground floor had been installed, as well as most of the pilasters of the loggia, and stone carvers were ready to carve the frieze level components of the testata.[459] This architectural decoration would

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[456] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:81: "Sonsi ricevuti i dua pezzi di marmi, del che assai vi ringratio con molto obligho appresso, et gli navicellai sono stati satisfatti della faticha loro conforme al desiderio vostro."

[457] Ibid., 3:81: "Haro ben caro che la .S. V., come sono arivati i navicellai, faccia caricare quelli altri dua pezzi di marmi, accio, mentre che l'acque servano, si conduchino al porto, per non havere asspettar poi questo settembre che venghino le nuove acque per condurli, perche ci importa troppo."

[458] Ibid., 3:83n4.

[459] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:197-199.

eventually house Danti's sculpture group. Its construction coincides with the arrival of marble for these works, an indication of the momentum of construction in 1564. The coincidence of events also demonstrates that the sculpture and architectural decoration were considered important parts of a holistic program.

Vincenzo Danti's role in this major project is most clearly described in the documents that officially granted him the commission for these first Uffizi sculptures and specified his salary in June 1564. On 7 June, the cinque provveditori wrote to Cosimo to name the terms for Danti's hiring and payment.[460] Their letter specifies that the work comprised a coat-of-arms flanked by two large figures, each four *braccia* long (approx 2.3 meters), which were to be placed on the testata of the Uffizi.[461] They would pay Danti three hundred scudi for this work and the letter connects Danti's payment schedule to a specific span of time in order to convert the total payment to a weekly salary. With the understanding that Danti would begin and finish the work in eighteen months,[462] the cinque provveditori agreed to pay him at a rate of four scudi per week, for an eventual but unstated total of 288 scudi if he completed the work in exactly eighteen months.[463] The language does not specify how the agreement was reached about these payment terms. The wording of the payment structure could indicate that Danti himself may have

[460] ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, 38r; Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:200.

[461] ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, 38r: "per andar' nella testata di quella fabbrica."

[462] ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, 38r: "possa cominciare et finir' tal lavoro."

[463] With the hindsight of knowing the final appraisal for these sculptures, we can see that this letter of 1564 significantly under-bids their value. In spite of some effort to distribute the cost across the years of production, the provveditori and the duke ended up owing Danti more than double this initial estimate. This process of initial estimate and final appraisal was common in Florence, dating back to the contracts of the fifteenth century; see O'Malley, *Business of Art*, 120-130. For marble sculptures, Glasser, "Artists' Contracts," 39, observed that fifteenth and early sixteenth-century commissions usually allowed one year for completion of life-sized sculptures and two years for double life-sized sculptures.

requested the terms: "s'offerisce darla finita in termine di 18 mesi, ma che vuole in questo tempo Ⅴ300" (it is offered to finish it at the end of eighteen months, but requires in this time three hundred scudi).[464] This language leaves open questions about whether Danti phrased this as a request, a statement of anticipated value, or a firm declaration of the final worth of this work. Alternately, these three hundred scudi could be understood as a standard rate for eighteen months of a sculptor's work in the idiomatic sense of the Italian verb "volere," such that a certain commission would require a certain amount of time or money.

Because it appears in the register and was subject to the approval of the duke, this document represents a "record of commission" characteristic of verbal commissions made between artists and patrons and subsequently recorded in record books, a practice dating back to the fifteenth century.[465] The time limit, in particular, places this agreement firmly within the traditions of artistic commissions in Florence through the *quattro-* and cinquecento. The document of 7 June also noted that the sculptures would be appraised upon their completion: the work "will be judged."[466] This letter was the final report of the terms of the commission; Danti, Vasari, and the cinque provedditori had already agreed upon these terms and the commission was essentially fixed, awaiting only the final approval of Cosimo. Below the transcription of this letter in the register is a record of the

[464] ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, 38r. Also Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:200.

[465] Glasser, "Artists' Contracts," 19.

[466] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:200 "sara giudicato." Glasser, "Artists' Contracts," 41-43, defines five specific types of payment structures in artists' contracts of the quattrocento. The letter to Cosimo follows two aspects of these traditional payment structures, both that "commissions for which a flat price was stated" and "commissions for which final price was left to appraisal," 42; the regular payment structure also follows the usual patterns of artists' contracts, 44-45.

duke's reply: "sta benissimo." Lelio Torelli, the duke's secretary and jurist,[467] signed this reply and dated it 9 June, just two days after the date of the letter from the provveditori.[468] What no longer exists is any record of payment to Danti or record that Vasari received payments that he was to disburse to Danti.[469]

Two additional documents in June of 1564 describe the terms of this commission and include the more formal language of commissioning documents, although these include fewer specific details about the planned project. The first, also of 7 June, is a brief reference to the letter from the provveditori to the duke located in another section of the register of the cinque provveditori. This note, however, includes the formalized language of art contracts; "deliberorno et deliberando" and "concedere" paradoxically make this short notation closer to a typical art contract than the terms used in the letter to Cosimo.[470] A 17 June 1564 entry is the third documentary record of the commission for the Uffizi statues from Danti. This entry mentions the duke's 9 June response to the commission. It also specifies that the provedditori constituted the commissioning body for this project. Finally, it reiterates the formalized contract language from the brief June 7 entry:

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[467] Eliana Carrara, "Vincenzio Borghini, Lelio Torelli, e l'Accademia del Disegno di Firenze: Alcuni considerazioni," *Annali di critica d'arte* 2 (2006): 549-550; Charles Davis, "The Tomb of Mario Nari for the Ss. Annunziata in Florence: Bartolomeo Ammannati until 1544," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 21 (1977): 76, 91.The Medici Archive Project lists Lelio Torelli's positions as Counselor of State and Consul of the Accademia Fiorentina in these years; "Lelio Torelli," Person ID 480, created by A.O. 12/31/1999, "http://bia.medici.org," accessed February 18, 2013.

[468] Nove Conservatori 3710, 38; Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:200.

[469] Payments for the tomb of Carlo de' Medici in Prato were released to Vasari. Presumably, he used this payment to cover the costs of both the materials and the work completed on that tomb.

[470] Nove Conservatori, 3710, 96v: "Idem come di sopra adunati etc., osservato etc., ottenuto etc., Deliberorno et deliberando volsono che circa il concedere a fare l'Arme delle Palle a Vincentio Dante da Perugia si mandi a sua Ecc.tia Ill.ma il memoriale del tenore che in questo a c. 38 appare et tucto in ogni miglior modo etc., mandante etc." Not previously published.

> The abovewritten Overseers observed gathered together... deliberating, they say and concede and allocate to Vincenzo Danti from Perugia to make the arms with balls with two figures that go on the sides to be put on the testata along the Arno, according to the response coming on the ninth of this month to the note made as appears in page 196 [missing] and everything in every best way, etc.[471]

This entry in the register closely resembles the vocabulary used in contracts, with its explicit use of terms granting Danti the commission: "concessano et allorgono" (concede and allocate.)[472] Despite this formulaic contract language, these notations are clearly records meant for the cinque provveditori themselves, to confirm that they entrusted this work to Danti.[473] None of these three documents specifies the subject matter for the two figures, but presumably Danti had been informed to include the attributes of *Equity* and *Rigor* according to the conventions of these two unusual allegories.[474] Although some scholars have assigned the invention of these allegories to Danti, the visibility of the commission, the large number of participants in this building commission, and the emblematic nature of the figure group strongly suggest that its iconography would have

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[471] ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, fol. 96v: "Li soprascripti Signori Proveditori insieme adunati osservato...deliberando dettono et concessano et allogorno a far' l'arme delle palle con le 2 figure che vanno delli lati a Vincentio Danti da Perugia per mettersi nella testata di Lungarno, conforme al rescripto emanato sotto di 9 del presente al memoriale factone come in filza prima no. 190 appare et tucto in ogni miglior modo, etc." See also: Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien," 316.

[472] The terms *concedere/concesserunt* and *logare/allogagione* connote the concession of a project to the hands of an artist in Florentine contracts for nearly two centuries of art-making prior to this commission. Glasser, "Artists' Contracts," 5; O'Malley, *Business of Art*, 6.

[473] This type of summary commemorative record also constitutes one of the primary ways in which we can trace artistic commissions, being a standard notation type even back to the works of Fra Angelico in the quattrocento. Glasser, "Artists' Contracts," 57-58.

[474] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 165-169, 396-397. Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:632, named these allegories. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, 141, later described the allegorical representation of "Equity" bearing the bendable, lead rule of the island of Lesbos as an invention of Egnazio Danti, "vescovo d'Alatri," the title he held until his death.

been designed by the most prominent shaper of Medicean visual imagery, Vincenzo Borghini.[475]

For an understanding of Danti's place in the structure of court commissions, the most significant aspect of these documents is that they are physically and chronologically inextricable from discussions of the architectural vaulting, the need for the magistracies to pay their share of construction costs,[476] and the carving of the *pietra serena* architectural elements that unify the architectural whole of this building. According to the complicated negotiations for marble and the progress reports that appear in the register of the cinque provveditori and in Vasari's letters, Danti's sculptures were a crucial component of the larger project.

Momentum to orchestrate the larger sculpture program continued, even as Danti began to carve these first objects for the façade. In October 1564, two letters mention the immediate need for addition blocks of marble for sculptures for the Magistrati. First, Vasari wrote to Giovanni Caccini to inform him that Vincenzo Danti was ready for more marble blocks; he instructed Caccini to ship marble to Florence, for use on the Magistrati.[477] These blocks were probably intended to become the coat of arms and central figure of the testata group, since at least one additional block was needed for the coat of arms that Danti had been assigned to complete by December 1566.[478] The breadth

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[475] For Vincenzo Borghini and Medici imprese, see Rick Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini and the *Impresa*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989): 85-110.

[476] Dorini, "Come sorse la fabbrica degli Uffizi," 2-13.

[477] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:87: "Come da Messer Vincentio intenderete le cose di qua della sala come passano, basta che nella venuta .v. (vostra) a San Giovanni vedrete vicino al fine ogni cosa, che non scrivo perticulari, dache Messer Vincentio viene, al quale, se sara portato costi in Pisa marmi per i Magistrati, paghi a v'egli consegnia tanto quanto resta dacordo Messer Vincentio, perche subito faro chel (che 'l) Pucino vi mandera costi ogni sonma ce si spendesse per detti marmi."

[478] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:88, n5, and 200.

of Cosimo's bureaucracy allowed such multitasking and it shifted some of the basic relationships between artist and patron. Vasari could presume Caccini's familiarity with the process by which marbles were selected and paid for, as these two men had coordinating these sorts of exchanges for several years. Vasari asked that Caccini himself pay for the marble blocks, with the understanding that Bernardo Puccini later would send repayment for the total sum. The system of securing marble for Florentine projects thus includes not ony shuffling of materials, but also funds and people. The chain of supply and payment described in this letter consisted of the excavation of marble blocks (by unnamed workman) in the quarries, their transportation to Pisa, their selection for use on specific projects, payment for the blocks by the Pisa provedditore, and repayment of that Pisan official by the overseer of the project in Florence. Such an efficient process was only possible in a principate composed of networks of state employees to whom these tasks could be delegated. The new ducal bureaucracy could draw money for materials from the coffers of the magistracies, in this case, rather than requiring an artist to purchase the materials out of his salary. While this centralized administration streamlined some of the process, its breadth and ability to move money fluidly also explain why the documentation of regular, specific, or established roles of administrators within this bureaucracy is often inconclusive.

The letters about these new blocks also describe Danti's work-space in Florence. In a letter of 26 October 1564, Bernardo Puccini, the source of those reimbursement payments, wrote to Caccini to announce that Danti had approached him about the need for more marble.[479] Puccini informed his Pisan colleague that Danti was already at work completing sculptures in the workshop associated with the Uffizi project, clarifying Danti

[479] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:89; Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien." 316-317.

as "the one who his Most Illustrious Excellency has given (the commission) to make certain works for this building."[480] Puccini asked that blocks of marble for this project be transported to Florence as soon as possible. He assured Caccini that the duke would repay the cost of these marble blocks for the *Magistrati*. As for the documents describing the first set of marble blocks, neither Puccini nor Vasari clarified the intended use or subject matter that Danti was ordered to create from these additional blocks. Puccini's comment, however, that Danti created these works "in questa fabbrica" is the clearest suggestion that the sculptor had some sort of work space within or adjacent to the Uffizi construction site. This 26 October letter reiterates the tangled system of loans and imbursements by which payments were made within the ducal administration in charge of artistic projects. No known documentation tells whether Caccini was ever repaid.

1565 – 1566: More Figures for the Uffizi and Carving the Testata Figures

The years from 1565 to 1567 represent Danti's most active period of work on the Uffizi, in which he completed the two initial figures and the Medici coat of arms for the testata and received the commissions for two additional statues. Danti worked on *Equity* and *Rigor* beginning in October 1564, but his attention to the project necessarily expanded in early 1565 when he was commissioned to create additional statues for it. This broadened responsibility for the Uffizi sculptures continued at least until the Medici called him to another major task in 1568. These years were his most prolific in Florence. He had contributed works to the Michelangelo's catafalque, created ephemeral sculpture for the *entrata* of Johanna of Austria, and reportedly carved a lost relief portrait of

[480] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:89: "quale da sua Eccellenza Illustrissima gli e (è) stato dato a fare certa opera in questa fabbrica."

Benedetto Varchi that was displayed in the memorial service held for Varchi by the Accademia Fiorentina. In addition, Danti composed the first volume of his *Treatise on Perfect Proportions*, held office in the Accademia del Disegno, and matriculated in the Accademia Fiorentina, all before his first figures for the testata were completed and appraised in 1566.

In 1565, only a few sources mention the Uffizi sculptures or Danti's work on them. In fact, Herman-Walther Frey's short but essential appendix of the main documents that describe construction and decoration of the Uffizi skips from June 1564 to September 1566.[481] Frey's main text, his compendium of Vasari's letters, likewise includes no documentation of the Uffizi sculpture program in 1565.[482] In 1565, the artistic attention of Vasari and Borghini focused on that construction of Michelangelo's tomb and the ephemeral decorations for the *entrata* of Johanna of Austria. The preparation of his equestrian sculpture for the *entrata* could have diverted Danti's attention from his work on the Uffizi sculptures.[483] Despite the focus on these other projects, three extant documents from 1565 describe the program's expansion in that year. Danti was

[481] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:200.

[482] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, v. 2 covers the year 1565 but includes no mention of the Uffizi decoration in that year. Likewise, Herman-Walther Frey's third volume of this work also includes letters from 1565, but no Uffizi documents during that year. Johanna Lessman's appendix of Uffizi documents: contains only two 1565 documents that mention the sculpture program (cf. seven total documents for 1565, compared to twelve for 1564 and thirteen for 1566.)

[483] For descriptions of the scope of Johanna's entrata, its administration and iconographical program, see Rick Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini and *Invenzione*: The Apparato of 1565," *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981): 57-75; and "A Florentine Sketchbook: Architecture, *Apparati* and the Accademia del Disegno," *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 54 (1991): 172-185; and "Borghini, Butteri and Allori: A Further Drawing for the 1565 Apparato," *Burlington Magazine* 137 (1995): 172-175. On Michelangelo's tomb: Joan Elaine Stack, "Artists into Heroes: The Commemoration of Artists in the Art of Giorgio Vasari" (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 2000), 240-307.

commissioned to create additional sculptures for the facade while continuing to carve the Medici coat of arms and the reclining allegorical figures of *Equity* and *Rigor*.

Work on statues of two saints for the niches flanking the entrance to San Pier Scheraggio was the focus of correspondence in 1565. The pre-existing church had stood just south of Palazzo Vecchio and had been incorporated into the construction of the new Uffizi building. The original facade of the church abutted the new loggia space and the main door of the church opened into the loggia. Two sculpture niches flanked this entrance. These two niches are the only ones located inside the loggia space; all other sculpture niches for the building are located on the external piers of the loggia (Fig. 24). These niches, thus, stand behind those that would hold the main sculpture program. While the sculptures they would hold needed to be thematically tied to the program of Florentine history and Medici rule celebrated in the main piazza niches, their association with the with the eleventh-century church dictated sacred subject matter for those sculptures.

To fill these niches with sacred figures, Cosimo selected Danti and Andrea Calamech to create the two sculptures, "one of St. Peter and the other of St. Cosmas." The duke chose these two sculputres after seeing the ephemeral sculptures they had created for the funeral of Michelangelo."[484] The register of the cinque provveditori records the commission on 12 January 1565. Danti was assigned the St. Cosmas sculpture and Calamech the St. Peter;[485] two additional blocks of Carrara marble were to be

[484] Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien," 317-318, from ASF Nove Consv. 3710, 98v: "messer Giorgio per ordine dell'Illustrissuma Signor Duca ha referto adetti Signori Proveditori haver havuto ordine quando Sua Eccellenza Illustrissima andò a vedere le figure dell'exequie di Michelangelo Buonarroti che si facessero 2 statue nelle nicchie che mettano in mezzo la porta di Sanpiero Scheraggio, una cioè di San Piero e l'altra di San Cosimo".

[485] ASF Nove Consv. 3710, 98v: "quella di San Piero ordinò che la si dese a fare a Vincentio Danti perugino et quella di San Cosmo a maestro Andrea Calamec scultori et che à tal effecto si facessero cavare 2 marmi da Carrara per dette statue".

quarried for these sculptures. The *provveditori* delegated to Vasari and Puccino the task of locating acceptable marble blocks through their "colleagues" in Carrara.[486] The only other documentation about the sculpture program during 1565 appears in other reports of progress on the Uffizi construction. Also during January, Vasari wrote to Duke Cosimo to update him on the state of construction and to report that Danti "continues to make the figures and coat of arms."[487] Vasari reports that the work "seems to me to be going well."[488] If Danti were carving these statues on the site of the Uffizi construction, Vasari and the overseers would have had daily access to the progress on these sculptures. In this report to Cosimo, Vasari also mentions that he has ordered the quarrying of two blocks of marble for the sculptures of the San Pier Scheraggio niches, each block 4 *braccia* tall.

The register also includes a 30 July 1565, letter to Cosimo on the progress of the architectural construction, in which the overseers reported that the architecture of the testata was nearing completion.[489] While the architecture and sculpture program were often discussed separately, the confluence of architectural goals and the work on the sculptures, which was "well-underway" in 1565, demonstrates their intentional

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[486] This record of the commission was created after Danti's autumn trip to Pisa to select two marble blocks. The timing seems to confirm Frey's suggestion that the blocks selected in October, if they were connected to documented commissions, must have been intended to complete the testata group rather than preparing for future commissions such as these niche sculptures, since the order to quarry the niche blocks falls within this January 1565 report.

[487] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 2:143-45, also in Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien," 318: "Il Perugino seguita di fare le figure et larme, et mi par che si porti bene. Essi dato ordine, come gia mi commesse .V. E. I., che si cavi a Carrara dua pezzi di marmo, di braccia .4. luno, per far le dua statue del San Piero e San Cosimo, che vanno nelle nicchie che mettono in mezzo la porta di San Piero Scheraggio".

[488] "mi par che si porti bene."

[489] Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien," 320-21; ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, fol. 39v: "Si son ridotte le cose della testata di Lungarno a buon termine et cosi quello che occore per il corridore et presto verra tutto finita, la dove è di necessita pensar' a nuovo lavoro."

coordination as part of a complete and unified program. The conspicuous lack of overlap between the discussion of the ephemeral decorations for the *entrata* and the records of the Uffizi construction is surprising given their common group of organizers, including Giovanni Caccini as *provveditore* of the *entrata* preparations as well as Vasari and Borghini.[490] This year also includes a shift in the correspondence with the Medici, such that Cosimo gradually participated less in the conversations about the Uffizi and its decoration and Prince Francesco took a more active roll in the administration of this project.[491]

By early 1566, when the excitement of the celebrations for Michelangelo's funeral and Francesco's marriage had ebbed, Vasari's leadership of the Uffizi project fell under intense scrutiny. On 4 July 1566, the cinque provveditori wrote to prince Francesco to defend their oversight of the Uffizi project. The prince had accused the cinque provveditori and Vasari of high costs and poor construction methods. Scholars alternately point to the source of this controversy either as the actual spending practices of Vasari and Puccini or as the result of simmering contentions within this group of administrators.[492] Whatever the exact cause of prince Francesco's inquest, accusation, or

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[490] Eve Borsook, "Art and Politics at the Medici Court I: The Funeral of Cosimo I de' Medici," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 12 (1965): 37: "This or a third man of the same name was in 1565 paid for his services in the decorations in Florence made for the wedding of Francesco de' Medici and Joan of Austria (ASF, Depositeria Generale 985, Fascicolo I, c. 94)."

[491] The same year in which Danti sought marble for additional sculptures, the Florentine public also witnessed the rapid construction of Vasari's *corridoio*, an architectural passageway from the Palazzo Vecchio, through the Uffizi, and across the Arno river to the Palazzo Pitti. Vasari stated that the corridor was specifically constructed in time for the festivities, implying an intention to impress visiting dignitaries. Satkowski, *Giorgio Vasari*, 48-50, describes the corridoio construction and he argues that these guests understood the corridor as a symbol of the court's organization, although he does not explain exactly what would have been the impact on visitors. He notes, 56-57, than those learned in ancient architecture who might have appreciated its parallels to the Domus Aurea or Caligula's passageway from the Capitoline to the Palatine hills.

[492] Satkowski, *Giorgio Vasari*, 38-39, points to the 1562 round of bidding on pietra serena architectural elements as the source of this controversy, because Vasari and Bernardo Puccini did not choose the lowest

close attention, the cinque provveditori "submitted a point-by-point defense of their (and Vasari's) stewardship of the project."[493] This document represents the first instance in which the bureaucratic network built by Cosimo seems to have posed a threat to the progress that Vasari, the overseers, and thereby Danti, were making on the Uffizi.

Following this controversy, Francesco paid closer attention to the Uffizi and participated in discussion of the Uffizi sculpture program and Danti's role in it. Danti completed the reclining allegorical figures of *Equity* and *Rigor* in the summer of 1566. The appraisal of these sculptures represents the final occasion on which court officials corresponded specifically about these sculptures, and Francesco contributed directly to this discussion. The register of the cinque provveditori records, on 22 August, that four artists were called together to estimate the value of these statues and the completed coat of arms. The entry names the artists called to appraise the statues; postscript notes that the actual appraisal occurred on 5 September. [494] The cinque provveditori also sent a letter to Prince Francesco on 11 September to describe the appraisal process, the participants, and the final assessment of the value of the statues. Cosimo was not included in this correspondence.

The appraisal process for Danti's statues of *Equity* and *Rigor* conformed to the traditional Florentine process for assessing the value of visual art. The September 11 letter from the overseers to Francesco reported that Danti had completed these sculptures

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bidders. Satkowski transfers this blame directly to Puccini and his tendency to overspend on the Uffizi. Dorini, "Come sorse la fabbrica degli Uffizi," 29-30, instead, describes the contentious professional relationships within the cinque provveditori as the source of the dispute; he identifies some members of that committee as enemies of Vasari.

[493] Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien," 324-326, and 416. ASF Nove Conservatori, 3710, 162v-164.

[494] ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, 105v.

and the Medici coat of arms for the Uffizi. It further described the assessment process by which the committee determined monetary value of the sculpture group.[495] The assessors included Vasari and Francesco da Sangallo, to represent the interests of the Uffizi magistrates, while the sculptors Vincenzo de' Rossi and Bartolommeo Ammannati took the part of Vincenzo Danti. Much like the commission of these sculptures, their appraisal by a small group of peer artists adheres to earlier models of assigning value to art objects; the 1566 documents described the roles of this group of four as "stimatori." Michelle O'Malley's study of early Renaissance painting contracts focuses on this same language of appraisal, in which an specific meeting for the purpose of appraising a work of art appears in the contracts as a "stima."[496]

Danti's career had intersected with this particular group of stimatori in the years prior to this appraisal. In 1564, Danti had been elected consul of the Accademia del Disegno, the arts academy of which all these artists were founding members.[497] This same group, Danti, Vincenzo de'Rossi, Ammannati, and Vasari, along with Giambologna and Cellini, were also connected by their work in Michelangelo's New Sacristy, as described by Vasari to Michelangelo in a March 1563 letter.[498] Danti's connections to Vasari date back to the young sculptor's earliest years in Florence.[499] Thus, we can understand this

[495] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:200; ASF Nove Conservatori Filza 3710, f. 165r.

[496] O'Malley, *Business of Art*, 120-121.

[497] Zagheri, *Gli Accademici del Disegno*, 101; Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti*, 57; Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 53-55.

[498] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 2:739. Frey dated the letter around March 17, 1563. For such gatherings and the drawings produced after the sacristy by academicians, see Raphael Rosenberg, "The Reproduction and Publication of Michelangelo's Sacristy: Drawings and Prints by Franco, Salviati, Naldini," in *Reactions to the Master*, ed. Ames-Lewis, 114-119.

[499] See Chapter 2.

group of artists a collegial one accustomed to working toward a common purpose, even as a pre-existing team of artistic allies. These four artists valued Danti's statues at seven hundred scudi, far more than the three hundred originally estimated for the project at the time it was commissioned.[500] They added that the duke should deduct fifty scudi from the final payment he made to Danti for the cost of the marble.[501] Unfortunately, this letter does not include a final tally for the additional payment owed to Danti after his weekly salary of four scudi. If this salary had been paid regularly between the commission in June 1564 and the completion of these works in August 1566, Danti had earned around 450 scudi, far more than the original estimate but well below the final appraisal price for his work.

Francesco responded to the provveditori's appraisal report with continued close attention to the costs associated with the Uffizi and its administration. In his response to the committee on 8 September, the prince responded, "pare il prezzo un poco ingordo" (the price seems a bit inflated.)[502] The prince did not base his valuation on any shortcomings of Danti's statues, nor did he connect his criticism to the timeline or the process by which Danti completed them. Instead, Francesco criticized the composition of the appraisal team and directly addresses someone specific, using second-person formal pronoun "lei:"

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[500] "e quali tutti quattro insieme de accordo per lor' rapporto in scripsis hanno stimato è ualutato dette due statue [scudi] di 700 di y 7 luno, con questo pero che sia tenuto a farci buono il costo delli marmi, il quale si ragione essere [scudi] di 50 incirca."

[501] This deduction seems odd since the correspondence between Moschino, Vasari, and Caccini in 1564 described that the materials had been paid for at that point.

[502] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:200.

> When you elect *stimatori* to similar situations, does it seem reasonable to you that there would be the participation of yourself [lei], who sees (oversees) the statue and then resolves its price?[503]

This chastised member of the administration was almost certainly Vasari, who both oversaw the statue's completion and then estimated its value.[504] Whether Francesco's protestation about costs was a holdover from the earlier disputes in 1566, or whether this cool and critical observation merely demonstrates Francesco's close attention to the finances and professional relationships at the court remains unclear. His objection does demonstrate his dubiousness that Vasari might assess his own work. Francesco astutely questioned what role Vasari privileged in his dual position as architect and administrator. The cinque provveditori came from diverse professions; their experiences balanced one another, as did the additional administrative roles of both Vasari and Bernardo Puccini. By 1566, rather than being praised for their smooth management of this extensive project, these administrators found themselves embroiled in controversy with one another and with the princes they served.

Although Francesco intimated that the provveditori may have overpaid Danti, the sculptor continued to receive commissions for the Uffizi. The central statue for the testata was commissioned from him fewer than six weeks later.[505] The remainder of his work on this project, however, was carried out within this context of tangled and competing priorities. The bureaucratic network founded by Cosimo and newly under the supervision

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[503] "quando si eleggano stimatori a simil cose, Le parebbe ragionevole che si facessi participatione di lei, laquale vedra le statue et poi si risolvera del prezzo."

[504] Several years later, in 1570, Francesco also objected to an appraisal of wood cabinets that Dionigi Nigetti had made for the new *Guardaroba* in Palazzo Vecchio. In this case, the prince demanded that no work be done by Vasari or by his workshop unless the price was "estimated beforehand." See Rosen, "New Chronology," 296-297. These cabinets later displayed the maps designed by Egnazio Danti.

[505] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:201: "una statua di S. E. I. per mettersi nel mezzo delle due figure, fatte da lui che vanno nella testata di Lungo Arno, et che se li dessi denari per andare a far cavare il marmo, dove se li dette (scudi sign) quaranta per tale effetto."

of Prince Francesco worked in fits and spurts to expedite this massive sculpture program even as it complicated its completion.

The commission for central statue to complete the group of figures on the testata followed closely on the heels of this appraisal process. Less than two weeks after they had corresponded about the appraisal of the *Equity* and *Rigor* figures, the cinque provveditori wrote again to Prince Francesco on 9 October. This letter presented the prince with the terms of the commission for the next testata statue from Vincenzo Danti, and informed him that a block had been found for this statue. The short but rich letter reveals the new tension between the administrative body and Prince Francesco and confirms that the prince had taken over project oversight from Cosimo. The overseers posed no questions but updated the prince on the current state of the commission: on the duke's orders, Giorgio Vasari had commissioned a statue of the duke from Vincenzo Danti.[506] The sculpture was to be placed on the building between the two other sculptures he had made. Danti had been given forty scudi to go quarry a block for the facade. He had made a model and was asking the Magistrati for money so that he could have the block transported and begin work on it.[507] The cinque provveditori referred to their previous weekly payment to Danti of four scudi and stated that they would give him the same salary again and no more.

Both tone and content of the letter assert the authority of the provveditori. The precise description of the terms of the commission closely resembles the letter that the Magistrati had sent to Cosimo in June of 1564 for the commission of *Equity* and *Rigor*,

[506] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:201: "Alli mesi passati e fu commesso a questo magistrato da messer Giorgio Vasari per ordine come referi dell Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Padre di Quella, che si dessi à fare a Vinc.o Danti scultore perugino una statua di S. E. I..."

[507] Ibid., 3:201: "domanda a questo magistrato che li sia dato denari alla giornata, accio che possa farlo condurre et lavorarlo."

but the tone of this later letter is less supplicating. Gone are the phrases addressed to Cosimo: "con buona gratia di V. E. I." (with the good graces of your most illustrious Excellency); "a V. E. I. humilmente ci raccomandiamo" (to your most illustrious Excellency we humbly recommend ourselves), a humble standard valediction; or even "s'offerisce darla termine in 18 mesi" (it is offered to finish it at the end of eighteen months).[508] Instead, the tone of the 1566 letter to the prince reads as a report of plans already underway that had been ordered by Francesco's father the duke. The verbs are not conditional: this statue "fu commesso" (was commissioned) and "havendo egli dato ordine di far' cavare il marmo" (the order to have the marble excavated having been given to him). However, the letter also includes an implied question and, importantly, it is about payment. Rather than state that they intend to pay Danti, the provveditori stated that Danti requested payment; they placed the burden of the supplication on his shoulders. Both by attributing these requests to Danti and by asserting this was an ongoing part of the project, the provveditori aimed to avoid additional conflict with the prince even as they implied their intention to preserve the terms of Danti's former commission.

Francesco sent a terse response on 14 October: "There is plenty of time to make the statue, but money must be spent on the construction and then the statues can be made."[509] This response represents the most direct participation to this point by either Cosimo or Francesco in the process of adorning the Uffizi. Previously, the provveditori, Vasari, and, to a lesser extent, Puccini had directed the commissioning of statues. These interim authorities kept the princes abreast of progress, but they rarely sought the

[508] All from: ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, 38r; Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:200.

[509] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe,* 3: 201; ASF Nove Consv 3710, c. 166v: "Ci è tempo assai a fare la statua, pero spendasi e danari nella fabbrica et poi si faranno le statue."

intervention of the Medici. Here, the prince issued an agenda not for the overall timetable but the logistical order of construction. He directly objected to the simultaneous planning of sculpture and architecture that had characterized the first few years of the Uffizi's construction.

The register of the deliberations of the provveditori includes two final entries from December 1566 about the state of the commission and this block of marble. A letter to Prince Francesco, written 4 December 1566, contains several paragraphs on the building progress but begins with an update on the block of marble for the statue of Duke Cosimo. This report amends the October letter to say that the forty scudi, already paid to excavate the marble block, did not cover all of the costs of extracting the marble: "we find (as we are reporting here) that to complete the excavation will cost something more."[510] They then quote words of Francesco's October response back to him: "according to the recent response that moneys should be spent on the buildings and then the statues would be made."[511] Nonetheless, the provveditori suggested that the process of quarrying this particular block should be paid for and finished as soon as possible because "to not finish carving it out could damage that marble."[512] The prince's response once again was recorded in the register. This time he referred decisions to his father,

[510] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:201; ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, 167r: "Essendosi alli mesi passati dato ordine di far' cavare un marmo per fare una statua dell'Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Padre di Quella per andare nel mezzo delle due figure che vanno nella testata di Lungarno, essendosi la fabrica sborsata per talc onto di ∇ 40 et di cosi cominciato, ma non gia sendo anchor finito di cavarsi, ritroviamo (come di presente ritraghiamo) ch' il finir' di farlo cavare costera qualche cosa piu".

[511] "atteso che la rescrisse gia che i danari si spendessino nella fabbrica et che poi si farebbon' le statue."

[512] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:201-202; also ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, 167v.

noting that the duke would decide about completing the excavation of this marble block after he had considered "other things."[513]

The questions of whether to excavate the marble, how much it would cost, and when to complete it remained unresolved, even after the next entry in the register, which described Danti's works for the testata. On 24 December 1566, the provveditori entered a summarizing note, which recorded all the previous decisions about payment and evaluated worth of the *Equity* and *Rigor* statues.[514] The entry states that payment of seven hundred scudi was to be released to Danti, according to Bernardo Puccini's policies and with Tommaso de' Medici's signature. It also specifies that the fifty scudi to be detracted from Danti's payment also included the cost of transporting the marble for the statue to Florence.[515] The note omits any mention of the forty scudi already released to Danti for the block of marble intended for the statue of the Duke. The recent discussion of the additional funds needed to complete the quarrying of that block is also absent from this summarty. The lack of an account book for the Uffizi construction complicates any effort to untangle these contrasting descriptions of payments owed and exact cost amounts.[516]

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[513] Ibid., with transcribed *rescritto* from Francesco: "Facciasi cavare et condur' quando il Sr. duca n'habbia deliberata altro cosa."

[514] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:202; ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, 109v.

[515] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:200: "sia tenuto a farci buono il costo delli marmi, il quale si ragione essere scudi di 50 incirca," and other documents, see above. Note the Dec. 4 language: "tal conto di scudi 40 ...ma non gia sendo ancor finito di cavarsi, ritroviamo (come di presente ritraghiamo) ch' il finir di farlo cavare costera qualche cosa piu." Whether due to administrative financial finagling or some creative re-estimations, these fifty scudi seem to represent a new elision of costs. Formerly, these costs had been listed as fifty scudi for the material and transport cost of the blocks for the allegorical figures and coat of arms described in September and then forty additional scudi for the quarrying and transportation of the marble for the statue of the duke. The costs of quarrying and transit had been described just two weeks before this note as "additional," and the forty scudi already released were described as insufficient.

[516] One possibility is that the Uffizi, having released some funds to Danti, may have miscalculated somehow. Although he owed them ninety scudi for both projects, fifty for *Equity* and *Rigor*, forty for this new block, they seem only to be holding him responsible for fifty. The possibility that Danti may have

This record represents the last known document that testifies to the completion of a sculpture for the original Uffizi program, or a payment for such a sculpture. Additionally, no known documents can establish an installation date for Danti's statues.[517] All remaining documentation of the project discusses either development of further sculptures or, in sixteenth-century publications, the effect of these completed sculptures once in place.

1567 - 1568: Statue of the Duke and Changing Focus

Beginning in 1567, the cinque provveditori directed the remaining momentum on the Uffizi decoration towards the completion of the central statue for the testata. The 1566 documents for this central statue described it as a figure of the duke, and this sculpture has inspired the bulk of scholarly discussion of the Uffizi's sculptures. It was both the key figure of this testata group, and it has been assumed to be the first full-body portrait sculpture of Cosimo I. The portrait sculpture of Cosimo that currently completes the testata group was carved by Giambologna and installed in 1585, after the deaths of the duke, Vasari, and Danti.[518] Uncertainty about plans for the first sculpture for this position has both enlivened and complicated art historical understanding of the Uffizi

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benefitted from these shifting calculations remains impossible to resolve without exact payment terms or disbursement dates and amounts.

[517] Keutner, "Palazzo Pitti Venus," 247-249, uses the letter of Sept. 11, 1566, as documentation of the statues' installation, p. 149. However, this letter only tells that the sculptures have been completed and appraised. The phrase "per mettersi nella testata di questa fabbrica inverso Arno dalla banda di drento" modifies the statues rather than Danti's work, as the next phrase clarifies "et che per fa' tal lavoro se li dessi et cosi li e stato date quattro scudi la settimana a buon conto." Keutner's interpretation of the letter is adopted by Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 165, whose account of the events is cited by later scholars.

[518] Crum, "'Cosmos, the World of Cosimo'," 241.

sculpture program. Scholars have examined which extant sculptures in Florence could have been created by Danti for the testata. As this chapter demonstrates, any argument for a definitive conclusion to this tantalizing question is thwarted by the absence of extant documentation that might resolve it. In addition, the statues that probably were intended for the Uffizi facade do not adhere to the original terms of the commission.

Although the sculpture planned for the central position of the testata had been described by the cinque provveditori in 1566 as "a figure of the duke," by the fall 1567 references to the statue no longer specified its exact subject matter. In 1566, the central figure was still described as a representation of Cosimo; the documents clearly described the plans for "una statua di S. E. I."[519] For most of the following year, 1567, Vasari was travelling to research and finalize his expanded second edition of *Lives of the Artists*. He reported to Vincenzo Borghini that he had heard from various sources that everything happening to the Uffizi was guided by "a will contrary to mine" and the whole construction site was being "ruined" while he was away.[520] When Vasari described the ongoing work on the sculptures in the 1568 edition of *Lives of the Artists*, he stated that Danti was working on a seated portrait of the duke to be installed "above the aforesaid arms."[521] This description of the statue also suggests that Medici coat of arms by Danti had already been installed on the testata, otherwise such a reference could hardly help a

[519] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:201: "una statua di S. E. I. per mettersi nel mezzo delle due figure."

[520] Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien," 333; Gaye, *Carteggio*, 3:86: "O (ho) inteso de Magistrati da altri et sapevo prima lanimo loro, che me ne governo col fatto, che e (è) stato senpre con la volonta contraria alla mia; et ne so' scaricho, perche i cottimi et le scritte fanno rovinar le fabriche…", cited from ASF Cart. Art. II, f. 76.

[521] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:632.

reader to envision the setting for a forthcoming statue.[522] Discussion of the central testata sculpture appears only sporadically between 1566 and 1570. Around 1569, the form of a seated portrait of Cosimo was rejected, and Danti created a figure of Augustus from an enormous, vertical marble block.

During 1567, Danti's work on the Magistrati sculptures awaited the transportation of suitable marble blocks, and Danti himself was sent into the quarries at Seravezza to scout for marble. The letters that mention both Danti and marble blocks in this year, however, do not specify for which specific project Danti was to use the marble. On 2 February, Tommaso de' Medici sent a letter on behalf of Cosimo to Matteo Inghirami, the overseer in Seravezza and Pietrasanta indicating that Danti was already being relied upon for his knowledge of the marble quarries and the quality of the material they were yielding. Danti also reported on the roads needed to excavate marble there: "we have understood from Vincenzo Danti about the marble from Altissimo [one of the mountains in Seravezza] and he has given us the examples, and we also understand this about the road."[523] The letter suggests that Danti was serving as engineer or surveyor of the

[522] Certainly, *Equity*, *Rigor*, and the Medici arms were installed before Raffaello Borghini published Il Riposo in 1584. In this fictionalized dialogue, intended as companion-guide to Florentine sculpture, Borghini specifies that a sculpture of Duke Cosimo I by Danti was removed from the testata and replaced with Giambologna's statue of Duke. In Book I of Il Riposo, Borghini describes the sculpture group: "…the figures made, as Equity and Rigor, for the new Uffizi by Vincenzo Danti of Perugia cannot be recognized for their attributes. Cannot be seen as who they are, it is said because from their principal view from the street some of the things they have in their hands are hidden," 66. Borghini specifies that an earlier statue had been removed to make room for Giambologna's portrait of Cosimo in his life of Giambologna, Il Riposo, 283. He returned to the sculpture group in book IV: "The two marble figures representing Rigor and Equity, which lie in beautiful poses on either side of the Medici arms at the head of the new Uffizi, are also his work." See also, Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, ed. and trans. and intro. Lloyd H. Ellis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 244.

[523] ASF Mediceo del Principato 225, f. 70v: "…Da Vinc.o da Perugia habbiamo inteso de marmi del Altissimo et ci ha dato le mostre: et questo alla strada habbiamo anchora inteso." Elsewhere in this same register, he thanks Matteo Inghirami for the fragments of marble (*scaglie*), so demonstration pieces were already part of the reporting process; see 30v. On the mountain quarries of Seravezza and Altissimo, Wallace, *Genius as Entrepreneur*, 15-17, 43-47.

quarries, answering logistical questions for the duke. This note confirmed that all parties involved shared an understanding of some concern about the quarries, although the specifics of Danti's explanations to the duke are unfortunately lost.

Danti's role for the Uffizi and the court bureaucracy in the next two years was changed by this new administrative role. His work on the facade sculptures must have been sporadic given his many trips to and from the quarries. Inghirami and Cosimo had already been in regular contact to discuss the logistical challenges of excavating and transporting "marmi misti" (variegated marble) from Seravezza, but Danti newly served as the physical go-between in these ongoing conversations about the duke's frequent and ongoing orders for marble.[524] On 21 April, the sculptor Batista Lorenzi reported to Giovanni Caccini in Pisa that Inghirami would send "these" marbles for both Michelangelo's tomb and "for the Magistrati."[525] This letter confirms that discussions of the Magistrati project persisted among Cosimo's network of arts administrators. However, during the months of March and April 1567, when the waters of the Arno would have been highest, no letters describe the transportation of marble blocks for the newly commissioned central testata statue. These same months in 1564, in contrast, had witnessed that bevy of letters between Vasari and Giovanni Caccini describing the transport of the blocks for *Equity* and *Rigor*. This documentary silence about the Magistrati project in early 1567 suggests flagging momentum on the project.

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[524] See ASF Mediceo del Principato 225 for regular correspondence between Inghirami and Tommaso de Medici on behalf of the duke.

[525] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:137. "…gli mandarebbe con quegli dell'opera et de magestrati…" What Caccini should expect to receive remains unclear; the subject of the short letter is primarily the travels of a small boat, a *scafa*, between Pisa and Pietrasanta to transport marble blocks. Door surrounds of variegated marble were used in interior spaces on the new Uffizi building.

Danti traveled back and forth several times between Seravezza and Florence in April and May 1567, although none of the letters describing his work in the quarries connects it to his commissions for the Uffizi. At this point in the plans for the Uffizi, requests for marble were sent directly to the quarries rather than to Caccini in Pisa as an intermediate facilitator. On 25 April 1567, Tommaso de' Medici wrote to Matteo Inghirami, overseer of Pietrasanta, instructing him to assist in blocking out a "marble figure" that Danti had been assigned. The letter informed Inghirami that Danti would arrive in Seravezza soon for this task.[526] Although Gaye assumed that this block was for the statue of the duke for the testata, Tommaso mentioned neither the subject nor the setting for this block so only a chronological connection might link this block to the Uffizi. In early May, both Giambologna and Vasari also wrote letters in which they mentioned Danti's travels to and from the marble quarries in the Apuan Alps. Vasari's May 3 letter to Caccini attests that Danti had returned to Florence, but the duke was sending him back to Seravezza because Danti had not gone to the mixed marble quarries when he was there before.[527]

This emphasis on the importance of Danti's work in the mixed marble quarries reflects a shift in Danti's responsibilities at court. As a middle-man who reported to the duke on matters associated with the quarries, Danti was assigned tasks that increasingly led him away from his sculpture commissions. While his earlier work in the quarries could have been scouting expeditions for blocks that would be appropriate for the Uffizi,

[526] Gaye, *Carteggio*, 3:245, doc. 219, from ASF Mediceo Principato 225; "El Duca, Signor nostro, mi à comandato che io scriva facciate auitar sbozzar quella figura di marmo che ha da fare Vincenzio Dante, scultor Perugino, che viene costì per tale effetto." Gaye assumes that this is the block for the statue of the duke, but the letter does not specify that.

[527] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:142: "stamani n'è tornato Vincentio Perugino, che ve l'aveva mandato il Duca, che l'ha raguagliato di tutto, ma piu caro gli sara il vostro, perche Vincentio non è ito alla cava de mischi, et tornatno v'avrete carissimo."

this new role of surveyor pulled him away from that commission for most of 1567. On 4 May, one day after Vasari's report to Caccini that Danti would return to Seravezza, Giambologna wrote to prince Francesco requesting Danti's assistance. In this letter, Giambologna requested that the prince give Danti measurements for a block of marble that was required for the statue of *Fiorenza* that Giambologna would soon begin to carve.[528] Giambologna's request tapped both of Danti's roles. He was a sculptor, trusted by his artist-peers, and also a ducal bureaucrat who increasingly acted as a liaison to the quarries. In the spirit of the competitive atmosphere of sculpture-carvnig in Florence, Giambologna was only too eager to reinforce Danti's new bureaucratic responsibilities.

These letters of early summer 1567 also indicate that Danti continued to report to both Cosimo and Francesco.[529] Vasari reported that Danti delivered his information about the quarries "al Duca," to the duke, but Giambologna sent his request through Francesco. No extant record tells whether Danti also visited the statuary quarries at Mont'Altissimo during his May 1567 trip to Seravezza, to scout materials for his own projects, or whether he spent his time solely in the quarries for mixed marbles, as instructed.[530] The Uffizi commission ironically seems to have led Danti far from the work of carving marble.

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[528] Gaye, *Carteggio*, 3:246, "Havendosi a fare cavare il marmo a Seravezza per la fiorense del salone, ho pensato, quando piaccia a V. E. I., che si potrà dare questa cura a maestro Vincentio Perusino, quale intendo che di brevi giorni va in quel loco per cavare alcuni marmi per il Duca…"

[529] The provveditori of the Uffizi construction also sent progress reports to Francesco throughout 1567. The letters recorded in their memoriale are addressed not to Cosimo, as they had been in 1564/1565, but to Francesco. ASF Nove Consv 3710, 169v-170v; Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien," 335-337.

[530] Danti's *Treatise on Perfect Proportions* was published this same spring. If Danti had intended the publication of his as a plea that he be allowed to continue his work as a sculptor, as Davis has argued, this was moment in the narrative in which he published in order to be allowed to carve. Although momentum on the Uffizi did not lag for during 1567, the timing of that pause did mean that the administration missed the early spring window for transporting marble when the river was full.

Two letters that Tommaso de' Medici wrote on behalf of Cosimo in autumn 1567 reconnect Danti's search for marble blocks in Seravezza to his work on the Uffizi. On 26 September, Tommaso wrote to Matteo Inghirami to authorize stonecarvers to quarry a block of marble for "the marble statue that Vincenzo Danti has to do for the *Magistrati*."[531] He stressed that these stone carvers were to take care not to ruin or to discard any usable piece, implying that any fragment of this statuary marble could be useful to the Duke. One month later, Tommaso wrote to Inghirami again about "the marble you have to have quarried ...for Vincenzo Danti."[532] With this letter of 26 October, he included some sort of insert that listed the required measurements of the marble block for Danti. As did the September letter, this one, too, urged both care and swiftness in the excavation of this marble: "have it excavated with the most diligence possible and as soon (as possible.)"[533] Had this block, in fact, been quarried in late October or early November, it could not have been the same block that needed to be blocked out (*sbozzare*) in the previous spring. Thus, at least two blocks of marble had been under discussion in the infrequent communication of 1567 that described Danti and his sculptural work for the duke. While the block ordered in late autumn was destined for the Uffizi, the one quarried in the spring may or nay not have been intended for that project.

When Vasari published his second edition of *Le Vite* in 1568, he wrote that Danti had the seated figure of the duke well underway, yet we have no documentation that a

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[531] Gaye, *Carteggio*, 3:248, from ASF Mediceo Principato 225, f. 113a: "ci siamo risoluti che intanto comminciono a cavar la statua di marmo che ha da fare Vincentio Danti per i Magistrati."

[532] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:143. ASF Mediceo Principato 225, c. 119a: "Intanto vi mandiamo con prima la misura del marmo che havete à fare cavare al'Altissimo per Vincentio Dante sculture Perugino..."

[533] "...il quale vi commettiamo che facciate cavare con piu diligentia che sia possibile et quanto prima."

block of marble had arrived in Florence by that time. If Danti had been working on the central statue for the testata for some time, the block for that seated statue had arrived in Florence unannounced. Were Danti already carving that statue, the blocks ordered in fall 1567 could only have been for the figure St. Peter that had been commissioned from Danti in 1565. However, the blocks for these niche sculptures had been quarried and set aside in 1565 but were not delivered to Florence until 1569.[534] More likely, the block for Danti to use for the central testata figure had just been located in fall of 1567 and was awaiting transportation in spring 1568. Vasari fudged the state of the sculpture, expecting Danti to have the statue underway by publication time. Danti had been increasingly moving back and forth between the quarries and the court, but Vasari had facilitated these commissions for the Uffizi. In his biography of the sculptor, Vasari described Danti not as an administrator but as a sculptor with work underway to adorn the Uffizi, a building designed and coordinated by Vasari himself.

Danti continued to serve as both sculptor and bureaucrat of the arts. From December 1567 to March 1568, he participated in the appraisal of Vasari's paintings for the offices of the magistrates in the new Uffizi building.[535] He also worked as a liaison between Francesco and the ducal quarries in Pietrasanta and Seravezza. For most of 1568, extant documents about Danti focus on his work in the quarries and his reports to the Medici rather than on his work as a sculptor. Marble was sought on Danti's behalf and for his use, but no correspondence describes his work on any of these blocks.[536] In

[534] ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, 174v; Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:203.

[535] In September, when the provveditori reported that Vasari was nearing completion on these two paintings, Prince Francesco responded that Vasari was already too busy and that completion of the architecture should take precedence. See Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien," 337, from ASF Nove Consv. 3710, 117r and 170v.

[536] See letter from Matteo Inghirami to Duke Cosimo on June 8 (below) for the search for marble blocks for Danti.

Florence, construction of the Uffizi building proceeded. In May, the provveditori sought the approval of the price to install windows, including nine in the testata wing, at the cost of sixty scudi per window.[537] Francesco, in reply, insisted that work be completed first on the offices for the magistrates rather than on the testata.[538] While the installation of windows might seem potentially important for a timeline of the sculpture installations, the *Equity* and *Rigor* statues and the Medici coat of arms could have been installed either before or after these window installations. More importantly, this exchange between the provveditori and Francesco indicates that the prince continued to push for completion of the non-decorative parts of the building.

While construction on the Uffizi continued, Danti spent much of the spring and summer of 1568 moving between Florence and the marble quarries of Pietrasanta and Seravezza. Documents of June 1568 present the most confused accounts of events of the Uffizi sculpture program as they describe the search in Pietrasanta for marble blocks intended for Vincenzo Danti. June 8, Matteo Inghirami, in Pietrasanta, reported to Prince Francesco that a block had been quarried from the quarry of Altissimo.[539] This massive block, originally weighing more than sixty carriage loads (*carrate*), broke into pieces because it had been so difficult to quarry. Among these smaller pieces, Inghirami

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[537] ASF Nove Consv. 3710, 173r; Lessmann, "Studien zu einer Baumonographie der Uffizien," 337-338. The letter provides no clarification about which nine windows were to be installed. The entire interior facade of the testata includes five openings on the primo piano and could be read to have four windows above. But that upper storey could be read to have three openings, with a wider window in the central unit. The exterior of the testata, facing the Arno river, includes another five openings for windows on the primo piano level, so the primo piano on both sides would have ten windows rather than nine.

[538] The prince's response was copied into the Memoriale of the cinque provveditori immediately following the copy of their letter to him; ASF Nove Consv. 3710, 173r: "Sua Eccellentia non vuole che per hora si faccia questa spesa della testata, ma che si tirino inanzi quelle altri arti che restano, et si finiscano conforme a quello che Sua Eccellenza Illustrissima ha detto in nota (vac.) a Bernardo Puccini."

[539] Wallace, *Genius as Entrepreneur*, 15-16, on Mt. Altissimo.

reported, remained a piece five *braccia* (height, c. 2.92 m) by two *braccia* (width, 1.17 m) by two *braccia* (depth, 1.17 m). Inghirami referred specifically to this block in his letter to Prince Francesco because it could be suitable for "the figure that Vincenzo Danti has to do for the Magistrati."[540] Scholars have used these measurements to connect this block with Danti's statue of *Augustus*, now in the Bargello, and to name the Augustus as the central figure of the testata sculpture group. [541] The measurements of that sculpture (2.8 m x 0.78 m x 0.74 m) correspond closely with the measurements of this block. It is important to note that while this letter named measurements that accord with Danti's sculpture of *Augustus*, neither this letter nor any later document mentions that Danti was to make a figure of the duke. In fact, since December 1566, none of the documents about sculptures for the *testata* had mentioned that the sculpture was to represent the duke. Furthermore, these measurements likely correspond to those sent in Tommaso de' Medici's letter of 6 October 1566. The quarrying team searched for blocks of specific measurements for specific projects.

Inghirami's letter also provides no direct connection between this large block and the *Augustus*, beyond its measurements, and it mentions Danti's "magistrati" figure only once. The bulk of the missive instead focused on smaller pieces of marble, especially ones for Giambologna and Francesco da Ser Jacopo, as identified onsite by the men they had sent to the quarries as their representatives. Again, we find Danti not at the center of a network but as one of many who depended on the functioning of this network to accomplish their work. Danti may have been present in Pietrasanta to witness this

[540] Frey-Vasari, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:144; Gaye, *Carteggio*, 3:250-21.

[541] See the summary of the debate about the Augustus statue, in Zikos, "Cosimo I in veste di Augusto," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 312-314, no. 7; Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:143-145, n4, however, provided an early caution against linking this block with the statue of *Augustus*.

remarkable block being quarried, since he had been moving back and forth between Florence and the quarries. However, Inghirami was silent about Danti's whereabouts.

Only two days after this massive block was extracted from the Altissimo quarry, on 10 June 1568, Cosimo I wrote a very brief missive to Matteo Inghirami on guarding a river near Pietrasanta. This letter contains a surprising addendum. Following the final valediction, the duke added a note in which he informed Inghirami that a white marble block just quarried was not suitable for the use of "Vincentio scultor" because it was "livido" (bruised).[542] This veining or the prevalence of weak spots in the white marble, which might otherwise be appropriate for a statue, made this block difficult or impossible to use for statuary purposes. The duke exhorted Inghirami to continue to diligently search for suitably white statuary marble. He also reminded the overseer that the men in the quarries had been assigned that specific task:

> continue to excavate where there would be that type of pure marble in that mountain, making every effort and diligence, because the men could stay with you to carve out that marble.[543]

Thus, despite the documentary silence on Danti's activity as a sculptor, the Medici administration continued to seek blocks for his work. This note makes no mention that the flawed marble block had ever left the quarries. With all his administrative contacts in Pietrasanta and Seravezza, the Medici would not have needed to pay for the transport of flawed marble.

The most surprising aspect of this note is the short time span between these two pieces of correspondence. Inghirami's notice to the Duke was written June 8 and the

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[542] Gaye, *Carteggio*, 3:251, transcribed only this final note to the letter, but the letter appears in its entirety in Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:144.

[543] "conviene andare à cavare dove sia tal sorte di marmo pur nel detto monte, facendo ogni Sforza et diligentia, perche li huomini vi possino stare à cavare il detto marmo."

Duke's report to Inghirami that the block was not suitable was composed on June 10. How to explain these nearly simultaneous messages and the note from Cosimo, who clearly was not in Pietrasanta for this dramatic shattering of an enormous block in the quarries but could inform Inghirami almost immediately about his response to the blocks quarried? The most likely explanation is missing correspondence. Someone probably wrote to Cosimo on 5 June, the day the stone was actually quarried, or shortly thereafter. In fact, Cosimo's letter to Inghirami omits any mention of "la vostra," shorthand for a letter on the same topic. That is, while the main text of the letter directly responds to a separate conversation about the river, the addendum about marble lacks any reference to previous correspondence. I suggest that a third person, either Danti or a colleague with significant knowledge of statuary marble and carving technique, was on site for that excavation and sent a letter to Cosimo on 5 or 6 June which indicated that the block was, in fact, not suitable. Inghirami had been searching for an appropriate block for Danti's commission since the previous fall. Unfortunately, although this block described on 5 June corresponded to Danti's needs, the quality of the marble was not adequate. Another possibile explanation for these two letters is that they describe different blocks of marble: an earlier, "livido" block that had been descovered to be faulty followed by the rapid discovery of a second and more suitable block, the one described in Inghirami's letter of 8 June. In either case, these letters indicate a new momentum on the Uffizi facade sculptures in the summer of 1568.

In those same months, Danti traveled back and forth between Florence and Seravezza. Danti was in Florence on 19 June, as part of his ongoing role as *stimatore* for Vasari's paintings for the Uffizi.[544] By 24 June, however, he was back in Pietrasanta. On

[544] Santi, *Vincenzo Danti*, 26.

27 June, Danti composed his first letter to Prince Francesco about the qualities of the marble available in various quarries.[545] The several-page letter by Danti describes the qualities of marble and the difficulty of excavating these materials. For his surveys of the quarries, Danti had the help of all the quarrying staff in Seravezza, "tutti e cavatori che sono qua in Seravazza," as well as the assistants who had been sent by Giambologna, "quel Vincentio e sua figlioli."[546] Danti reported to Prince Francesco that all the quarries could produce good blocks of marble, if good diligence were paid to avoid the visible white seams in black marble and black seams in white marble.[547] He presented some of the challenges to excavating blocks and then asserted, "this seam (*ravaneto*) is very long and full of living stones that would be the type, if not speckled, and large enough for erect figures."[548] Although it is tempting to posit that this brief reference might indicate that Danti was scouting marble for a specific commission such as the *testata*, the bulk of this letter concerns the difficulties of quarrying and transporting blocks from these seams of marble. It does not address a specific project. Given the difficulty of transporting marble on the existing roads, Danti reported, blocks ordered from Carrara would arrive two months after the initial order.[549] Danti's objective tone conveys general conditions

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[545] Gaye, *Carteggio*, 3:251-254. In this letter, dated June 27, Danti reported that he had arrived in Pietrasanta in the evening of the feast of San Giovanni (Thursday June 24) and the next morning traveled to the Altissimo quarries.

[546] Ibid., 3:251: "condussi meco tutti e cavatori che sono qua in Serravezza," 3:252: "quale è quel Vincentio e sua figlioli, che da messer Giovan Bolongna fu proposto a V. E. I., et insieme andanmo tastando li melglio luoghi da poter cavare marmi statuarii..."

[547] Ibid., 3:252: "La qualità delle cave de marmi ancora in tutte quelle di Carrara è produrre de' buoni e de' cativi, et espesse volte alato a un filon negro ve sene trova un bianco et al bianco il negro".

[548] Ibid., 3:252, "esso ravanetto è di tanta longhezza et pieno di molti sassi vivi di sarebbe sorte can non sene spezasse, et maxime per figure dritte…"

[549] Gaye, *Carteggio*, 3:252-253: "ò visto ancora che se bene il ravanetto se asetta, che non sarebbe per questo di mettere a risico un pexxo di marmo statuali (sic) con il gittarlo giù al ordinario delgli altri, perciò che esso ravaneto è di tanta longhezza et pieno di molti sassi vivi che sarebbe sorte che non sene spezzasse,

and provides recommendations. It suggests that his assigned task was to survey, assess, and, perhaps, report on the minerology of the seams. The prince clearly had not sent Danti to search for marble for his own projects.

Only five days later, Danti composed another lengthy letter to Francesco from Pietrasanta, in which he reported having discovered greater quantities of statuary marble that was also of better quality. In this letter of 2 July, Danti hinted that some of this scouting would benefit his own commissions and sculpture practice.[550] He also reported on the state of the road constructed by Michelangelo up to the quarries and estimated the materials necessary to repair and improve this road and to ease the transportation of marble down the mountains.[551] Danti buries the passing references to specific needs for marble within the ongoing general report on the quarries, their accessibility, and payment for marble:

> All of the quarries/caves are difficult to start and the large pieces, such as those *for which we have need...*[552]
>
> They are making accounts with it *about our marble*, that they are taking to quarry at their expense…[553]

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et maxime per figure dritte, che li pezzi ànno da essere longhi, che ongni poco di scorsa che pilgliassero si troncarebbero nel mezzo; per la qual cosa ò pensato di farli mandar giù a poco a pocco, et in dua luoghi, dove sono sassi saldi e vivi, adoperare la nizza con la livella, che facilmente si potrà fare, et facendo in tal modo le figure, si possano abossare in su la [253] cava, come fanno ancora oggi ali mischi, inperochè è tanta la dificultà, ancor che il masso sia bianco, di trovare pezzi di saldezza senza peli et lesi, che porta la spesa di usare ongni diligentia, cavati che sono, di condurli in salvamento. a Carrara cavano ale volte dua mesi prima che possano avere un pezzo di marmo statuale." Danti also suggested that to deal with these difficulties, those who quarry the rocks should live in the quarries, so they wouldn't have to deal with the difficult path up and down.

[550] Ibid., 3:254-256.

[551] Ibid., 3:254-256.

[552] Emphasis mine. Gaye, *Carteggio*, 3:255: "Tutte le cave sono deficili in darli aviamento, et li pezzi grandi, come son questi che abbiamo de bisognio noi, non si trovano così in un punto in prima giunta."

Thus, along with the rest of the correspondence of 1568, these two autograph letters by Danti offer a glimpse of his role in the ducal bureaucracy overseeing artistic production. However, they disclose nothing about the state of the program to adorn the Uffizi with sculptures.

For descriptions of Danti's work on the Magistrati in 1567 and 1568, we must turn to printed sources. Some scholars have suggested that the publication date of Danti's *Treatise on Perfect Proportions* in April 1567, dedicated to Cosimo I, was a bid to convince the duke to return attention to the Uffizi sculptures. The coincidence of dates seems a bit close to permit this connection. First, because the provveditori had just corresponded with prince Francesco as recently as December 1566 about obtaining and transporting a block of marble for the figure of the duke. Inghirami composed his spring correspondence about a suitable block of marble for the magistrati statue on April 21 and April 25. There is no clear evidence that Danti's commissions were being ignored. As addressed in Chapters Four and Five, the dedication to the duke makes more sense in the context of Danti's participation in the Accademia del Disegno and Accademia Fiorentina.

Vasari's second edition of *Le Vite* was published in 1568. The title page describes the specific additions to this text: "With their portraits and new lives from 1550 to 1567."[554] If Vasari's collection of information on the artists and their works ended in 1567, it was the same time period when blocks of marble were still being sought for Danti's work on the Uffizi. The dating of *Le Vite* is important considering what Vasari contributes to our understanding of the timeline and format of this central figure of the

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[553] Emphasis mine. Gaye, *Carteggio*, 3:256: "So'per fare patti con esso loro circa li nostri marmi, che li piglieranno a cavare a loro spese, et darli abossati con esparmio assai più che non era prima il pregio di Carrara."

[554] "Co' ritratti loro Et le nuove vite dal 1550 al 1567."

testata group. In his "Accademicians" section, Vasari described the *Equity* and *Rigor* and coat of arms Danti had already completed. Following that description, he wrote that

> from hour to hour he is expecting the marble to make the statue of the Lord Duke himself, considerably larger than life, of which he has made a model; an that statue is to be placed seated over the escutcheon, as a completion of the work, which is to be built shortly, together with the rest of the façade, which Vasari, who is the architect of that fabric, is even now superintending.[555]

Given the review of documents from 1567 and 1568, it is clear that no one in the Uffizi administration other than Vasari was still describing the central figure as a depiction of the duke. Furthermore, the search for marble blocks had transitioned to a hunt for narrow but tall blocks that would accomodate erect figures. Vasari mentioned here that Danti had created a model of that statue, a detail that corresponds to the letter of 9 October 1566 from the provveditori to Francesco. That letter requested that funds be released to complete the extraction of the marble block for Danti to make "a statue of His Most Illustrious Excellency to be put in the middle of the two figures" on the testata.[556] The model that Vasari mentioned here and his description of the commission, thus, date to late 1566. This dating helps to situate his 1567 complaints that the work on the Uffizi was changing in ways to which he objected. After 1566, no documents mention that the marble statue for the testata was to represent the duke.

Given all the interim documentation about the Magistrati between 1566, when the last reference to a "figure of the duke" appeared in the written records, and 1568, when new vertical blocks were being set aside for Danti's work on the Uffizi, I suggest that the figure group for the testata had been reconceptualized as an emblematic representation of

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[555] Translation from Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. Gaston de Vere (London: David Campbell Publishers, Ltd., 1996), 891.

[556] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:201: "una statua di S. E. I. per mettersi nel mezzo delle due figure."

the duke's rule. Rather than a portrait of the duke, Danti produced a statue of Augustus, a figure identified with Cosimo but not actually a representation of the duke himself. As Louis Waldman has argued, Augustus was in keeping with Cosimo's imagery, and we need not read this sculpture as comprising the dual meanings of both a portrait and an emblem.[557] The *Augustus* completed the facade group in a way that made visible the characteristics of Cosimo's rule without directly representing the duke.

Vasari's original conception of a seated figure of the duke formulated the *testata* sculpture group as a direct quotation of Michelangelo's tombs of the Medici dukes in the New Sacristy at the church of San Lorenzo in Florence. This conception of the *testata* group appears in a drawing attributed to Giovantonio Dosio, c. 1566, in the collection of the Uffizi.[558] The Medici chapel was a reasonable model for Danti's first major public work in Florence for its references to the forebears of Cosimo and Francesco; it was also another record of Danti's knowledge of Michelangelo's works. As noted above, the very committee of artists who appraised his *Equity* and *Rigor* statues had studied Michelangelo's figures in that chapel with Danti.[559]

However, Michelangelo's iconic figure-groups in the New Sacristy were conceived for a funerary setting. The exact reuse of that motif with the representation of the currently living duke in a seated posture must have been deemed inappropriate for this exterior figure group that faced a building housing administrative offices of the state. The reconception of this figure group as an emblematic representation of rule conforms

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[557] Waldman, "The Recent Vincenzo Danti Exhibition in Florence," 681-682.

[558] Karla Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici: 15th-18th centuries* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1981), 1:475.

[559] For readings of this figure group as a reference to the Medici chapel, see Crum, "'Cosmos, the World of Cosimo'," 245; Acidini, "Vincenzo Danti e Michelangelo," 32.

to the late cinquecento popularity of highly *imprese* that were difficult to read.[560] This understanding of the documents and comparative texts allows us to strip the Bargello statue of *Augustus* of the overly complicated and anachronistic pair of meanings assigned to it in the twentieth century.[561] After 1566, the Uffizi facade was no longer intended to house an image of Cosimo; it bore, instead, a figure of *Augustus* that alluded to Cosimo's reign. Danti almost certainly carved this figure from a block that had been found in the quarries in 1568, according to the measurements that Tomaso de' Medici had sent to Inghirami. Danti himself may have been onsite to select suitable blocks given his contemporaneous work scouting the quarries on the orders of Prince Francesco.

1569 - 1573: The Ends Left Untied, Works Unfinished before Danti's Departure

The cinque provveditori recorded the last notes about Danti's work on the Uffizi façade sculptures in 1569 and 1570, although these records note ongoing work on sculptures commissioned three years earlier: the central testata statue and Danti's niche statue of St. Peter, intended for a niche next to the entrance to San Pier Scheraggio. In several letters addressed to Duke Cosimo, the provveditori sought approval for Danti's salary and the schedule according to which he was to finish these two statues. Unfortunately, no extant documents attest to their completion, however, and the sculptures themselves no longer exist. On the occasion of the installation of

[560] Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini and the *Imprese*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (1989); Ruffini, *Art without an Author*, 28-35.

[561] Frey contradicts this interpretation in his notes, in which he says that the *Augustus* statue was entirely unattached to this project and that the eighteen months Danti was allocated to complete the figure would have come to conclusion before he left the city. Frey concluded that the statue is complete but its location is unknown; *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:142-144.

Giambologna's portrait sculpture of Duke Cosimo I in 1581, Raffaello Borghini mentioned the removal of Danti's statue. Borghini's account confirms that Danti did complete some statue for this space, almost certainly the figure of *Augustus* created from a block designated for this purpose in 1568.[562]

Danti was not the only sculptor allocated commissions for the Uffizi facade sculptures. Andrea Calamech appeared in the register of the provveditori in 1565 when they commissioned a statue of St. Cosmas from him. This figure was the pendant to the statue of St. Peter that Danti was to execute. The record had been nearly silent on these commissions for four years, probably due to Francesco's insistence that the overseers complete the Uffizi's architecture before its decoration. A letter of 31 October 1569 from the provveditori to Cosimo reported that the quarries of Carrara had set aside marble blocks for the niche sculptures back in 1565 and wished to be paid for these blocks.[563] The long time frame for the transportation of these blocks clearly contrasts with the urgency about the transit of the marble for the *Equity* and *Rigor* statues and the speed with which they were quarried and transported to Florence. The blocks for the figures of Cosmas and Peter had been ready for the sculptors for nearly four years. The decision by the administration to leave them untouched for that period suggests that the testata figure group took priority over the program of figures for these niches and for the loggia of the Uffizi. This letter notes that the blocks had been ordered from the administration of the duke of Carrara and had arrived in the marina of Carrara in May 1565. It also implies that the recent search for blocks from Cosimo's own quarries in Pietrasanta probably diverted

[562] Borghini, *Il Riposo*, 587-588: "[Giambologna] carved Grand Duke Cosimo in marble. This was placed on the new Uffici, where it replaced [588] that of Vincentio Danti of Perugia." Translation from Lloyd-Borghini, *Il Riposo*, 283.

[563] ASF Nove Consv. 3710, 174v; Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:203.

attention from these blocks from Carrara. In October 1569, the blocks were "believed to be in transit" and due to arrive in Florence shortly.[564] The blocks were described as being about 4.5 braccia high and worth about seventy scudi. At the time of the letter, Calamech had completed a model for his figure but he had then moved to Messina. The cinque provveditori suggested that the commission pass to a Larion' di Giovanni Ruspoli; this appears to have happened as he was also described as working on the St. Cosmas figure in August 1570.

The final two documents regarding Danti's work on the Uffizi chronicle his renewed petition for a weekly salary, in order to complete these two remaining sculptures, of St. Peter and Augustus. Danti wrote to the cinque provveditori, a letter that has since been lost, and the provveditori then included his request in letter of 9 August 1570 to Cosimo. On Danti's behalf, the provveditori requested approval to resume the sculptor's salary of four scudi per week for the eighteen to twenty months that it would take the sculptor to complete his two remaining sculptures.[565] The marble to complete these statues, and the St. Cosmas by Ruspoli, had been delivered to Florence, and the sculptors were working to complete these works in their "rooms," presumably an onsite workshop space.[566] Danti himself initiated this renewed attention to the commission. Vasari rarely appeared in the documents of the Uffizi register since the conflict with Francesco in 1566 and Vasari's own frustration in 1567 with the direction of the project. Danti appears to have identified the need to advocate for himself. Having worked with

[564] "a questa ora pensiamo che sieno per viaggio e di corte habino a comparire."

[565] ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, 177.

[566] ASF Nove Conservatori 3710, 177: "Feciensi venire i marmi, quale hoggi si tovano nelle stanze loro per lavorarli."

the provveditori for six years on this project, he approached them directly with a request to resume work and payment.

A second letter of 1570 describes a speculative appraisal for the two remaining sculptures Danti was completing for the Uffizi. Fellow sculptors, who had been attached to the project before, assessed the value of the statue for the testata and the St. Peter as worth five hundred scudi, "perhaps much more according to the excellence and beauty (in which) they would be finished."[567] This estimate of the statue's final worth predicted by these *stimatori*, Giambologna, Vincenzo de' Rossi, Battista Lorenzi and Francesco da Sangallo, was shared with the duke in conditional terms. Danti still had eighteen months to complete the works, and the stimatori only had access to a model of the St. Peter statue.[568] Danti also showed his appraisors a model of the testata figure, "la statua grande," and they based their speculative appraisal of his work on these models and their knowledge of his previous sculptures. The appraisors referred to Danti as still a young sculptor but capable and dextrous, poised for continued improvement and success.[569]

The hopeful tone of this last missive about the Uffizi facade indicates that everyone involved believed that the sculptures would be finished and installed. Given Danti's completion of the *Augustus* and, soon after, his commission for the bronze figures on the facade of the Baptistry, he had little time to make headway on the *St. Peter* before his departure from Florence in 1573. For the first campaign to complete the Uffizi facade sculptures, Danti received all but one of the sixteenth-century commissions to adorn this

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[567] ASF Nov. Consv. 3710, 176; Vasari-Frey, Nachlass, Neue Briefe, 3:204: "e forse di molto magiore secondo l'eccellentia et bellezza di che la riuscissi."

[568] ASF Nov. Consv. 3710, 176.

[569] Ibid., 176 "le altre cose fatte dal Perugino et l'esser giovane et persona habile et destra al andare sempre migliorando"

new building with an enormous series of marble statues. In his time working on this commission, Danti was subject to the functioning of the wide administrative network that controlled the resources of the duchy. He also participated in the network not only as a sculptor but also as a surveyor of the marble quarries. In order to prompt momentum on the most important court commission he received in the 1560s, Danti used his connections to the cinque provveditori, to his peers in the Accademia del Disegno, and to his own brother to gain access to the necessary materials and to the payment due him for works completed. The great, unfulfilled sculpture program for the Uffizi had to wait for its completion until a wave of nineteenth-century nationalism, exemplified by Eugenio Agneni's nineteenth-century painting of the enlivened uomini famosi sculptures, spurred Florentines to make their cultural legacy visible in the niches of the Uffizi facade.

Chapter 4: "Loda al chiaro vostro ingegno:" Poetry by Danti and his Social and Intellectual Ties at the Medici Court

The first chapters of this project tracked Vincenzo Danti's status in Florence according to the professional context of his sculpture commissions, but Danti produced texts as well as objects. His works in prose and poetry and the relationships that informed these writings reveal some of the ways in which Danti sought to participate in the tradition of artist-poets who worked for the Medici. Other artists had also achieved recognition as writers, but Danti faced the additional challenge of situating himself as a foreign artist-writer in a city determined to establish its cultural hegemony. As he worked to excel in the local vernacular, he gained access to elite literary circles thanks in part to his brokerage relationships.

Danti demonstrated his abilities as a poet from his first years in Florence, and his poetic career formed an important component of his multidisciplinary efforts to position himself at court. Although he arrived in Florence as an accomplished sculptor, we have such no record of his prior literary practice. Later, he was praised for his poetic practice by his contemporary, Raffaello Borghini, and by Lione Pascoli, a fellow Perugian who composed biographies of artists in the eighteenth century.[570] Danti's poetic silence before his Florentine career and these later biographies that celebrate his excellence in Petrarchan forms suggest that he may have cultivated his literary talents specifically for the context of the Medici court. Consistent with the objects he created, Danti composed poetry that demonstrated his familiarity with local interests. Pascoli especially praised

[570] Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo di Raffaello Borghini in cui della pittura e della scultura si favella, de' piu illustri Pittori e Scultori, e delle piu famose opere loro si fa mentione; e le cose principali apparenenti a dette arti s'insegnano* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1584), 522: "...e non poco valse in comporre versi Toscani, e particolarmente in far centoni de' versi di Petrarca e d'altri famosi autori," ["and not little was he successful in composing Tuscan verse, and particularly in making centos of verses by Petrarch and other famous authors"]; Lione Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni* (v. 1, 1730, v. 2, 1736; repr. Rome: E. Calzone, 1933), 393.

Danti's ability to compose Petrarchan verse, which was a central interest of literary studies in sixteenth-century Florence.[571] Through such poems, he emulated the previous generation of artists who had been so rewarded by the Medici: Michelangelo, Bronzino, and Bandinelli.[572] Danti's friendships with Vasari, Sforza Almeni, and their poet friends, Laura Battiferi, Luca Martini, and Benedetto Varchi, provided him opportunities to demonstrate his literary abilities to perform poetry in Florentine vernacular.[573]

Danti composed poems to reinforce his ties to this circle of the intellectual elite. He eventually matriculated in the Accademia Fiorentina, the state literary academy, and was the first non-Florentine artists to do so.[574] Originally founded as the Accademia degli Umidi, this literary academy focused on the promotion and performance of vernacular Tuscan language. In 1541, the organization was transformed into the Accademia Fiorentina through the participation of Duke Cosimo and his courtiers, and it became a central component of Cosimo's cultural agenda to promote the achievements of

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[571] Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni*, 393: "Lasciò diversi manuscritti, e fra questi alcuni centoni sopra il canzoniere del Petrarca, e la vita sua in terza rima. Fu bravo anatomico, perfetto disegnatore, eccellente matematico, facondo letterato, e leggiadro poeta..." [He left various manuscripts, and among them some centos on the *Canzoniere* by Petrarch, and his own life (written) in terza rima. He was a good anatomist, perfect (designer), excellent mathematician, prolific writer, and graceful poet...]

[572] Detlef Heikamp, "Rapporti fra accademici ed artisti nella Firenze del '500," *Il Vasari* 1 (1957): 140-141; Leatrice Mendelsohn, *Paragoni: Benedetto Varchi's Due Lezzioni and Cinquecento Art Theory*, Studies in the Fine Arts 6 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 29. Although Bandinelli never claimed to write poetry and no poems by him are extant, he was accepted into the Accademia Fiorentina on 21 May 1545, see Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli*, 294, doc. 487.

[573] For the members of this circle, see Victoria Kirkham, *Laura Battiferra and her Literary Circle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 22-42.

[574] Danti enrolled in the Accademia Fiorentina on 26 September, 1565, on the same day as Alessandro Allori. Heikamp, "Rapporti," 141; Patricia Reilly, "Drawing the Line: Benvenuto Cellini's *On the Principles and Methods of Learning the Art of Drawing* and the question of amateur drawing education," in *Benvenuto Cellini: Sculptor, Goldsmith, Writer* ed. Margaret Gallucci and Paolo Rossi (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 31-43. Reilly associates the coincidence of their membership date with their production of treatises on art and anatomy, a proposal that will be further considered in Chapter 5.

Tuscany.[575] In 1547, the academy expelled most of its membership, including artists such as Bandinelli and Cellini, as a part of a rigorous reform campaign.[576] Only by submitting a new literary work could anyone be reinstated or newly admitted.[577] When Danti was accepted to the Accademia Fiorentina in 1565 most artists were still excluded, with the exceptions of Alessandro Allori, who matriculated on the same day as Danti, 26 September 1565, and of Bronzino, who was readmitted in 1566.[578] His matriculation marked him as one of the most erudite artists in Florence, and Danti was also the first non-Florentine artist ever admitted to the Accademia Fiorentina.

Modern scholarship has uncovered only five poems by Vincenzo Danti, yet he composed those works in dialogue with active poets at court and his later biographers praised his verses.[579] His poetic practice was an important component of the professional

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[575] For a history of the Accademia Fiorentina, see especially Michel Plaisance, *L'Academie et le prince* (Rome: Vecchiarelli Editore, 2004); Armand L. De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli and the Florentine Academy: The Rebellion Against Latin* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1976); Michael Sherberg, "The Accademia Fiorentina and the Question of Language: The Politics of Theory in Ducal Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 56 (2003): 26-29; Judith Bryce, "The Oral World of the Early Accademia Fiorentina," *Renaissance Studies* 9 (1995): 77-103; Antonio Ricci, "Lorenzo Torrentino and the Cultural Programme of Cosimo I de' Medici," in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Burlington and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003): 103-119; Jonathan Davies, *Culture and Power: Tuscany and its Universities* 1537-1609 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 57-71.

[576] Lionel Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi on the Birth of Artefacts: Architecture, Alchemy, and Power in Late Renaissance Florence" (PhD Dissertation, University of Ghent, 2005), 50-51; Bryce, "Oral World," 100-101; Plaisance, *L'Academie et le prince*, 20-21.

[577] Heikamp, "Rapporti," 140-143; Plaisance, *L'Académie et le Prince*, 21; Deborah Parker, *Bronzino: Renaissance Painter as Poet* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 9, 15-18; Margaret Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini: Sexuality, Masculinity, and Artistic Identity in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 30; Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 67.

[578] Reilly, "Drawing the Line," 31-43; Patricia Reilly, "Grand Designs: Alessandro Allori's Discussions on the Use of Drawing, Giorgio Vasari's Lives of the Artists, and Florentine Visual Vernacular" (PhD diss, University of California, Berkeley, 1999), 32; Heikamp, "Rapporti," 141.

[579] David Summers first brought together these five poems in an appendix to his dissertation on Danti: Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 501-512. In the Appendix attached to this chapter, transcriptions have been updated when access to publications and manuscripts has been possible.

persona Danti constructed to position himself service to Cosimo's court. Through these poems and his brokerage relationships, Danti distinguished himself as the first artist to enroll in the Accademia Fiorentina whose native dialect was not Tuscan.

DANTI, THE ACCADEMIA FIORENTINA AND PETRARCH STUDIES IN FLORENCE

The poems that Danti addressed poems to various members of the intellectual community in Florence attest to his knowledge of poetic forms and local language. Both Borghini and Pascoli praised Danti for his knowledge of Petrarch; Pascoli even claimed that Danti had written an autobiography in *terza rima*.[580] Danti's grandfather, Piervincenzo Rinaldi, had renamed the family in the *quattrocento* in honor of Dante Alighieri.[581] Bearing the name of the preeminent Florentine poet as his own surname, Danti likely relished using the *terza rima* format to chronicle his own life's journey. His brother, Egnazio, also wrote that the study of poetry had been part of their education under the guidance of their aunt Teodora.[582] Such literary training in informal settings was shared by many of the original members of the Accademia Fiorentina, including his fellow artist-poets Bronzino and Cellini.[583] Danti have arrived in Florence with a strong

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[580] For Pascoli's description, see note 2 above. No other source records an autobiography by Danti. However, if the Danti family papers that were entrusted to Vincenzo and Egnazio's nephew upon their deaths had still existed in Perugia in the eighteenth century, Pascoli probably saw them, on which Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 43 n14. For the artist as author who inserts himself into historical narrative, Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999)*, 300-304.

[581] J. David Summers, "The Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti: A Study in the Influence of Michelangelo and the Ideals of the Maniera," (PhD diss, Yale University, 1969), 3-4; Egnazio Danti, *La Sfera Di Messer Giovanni Sacrobosco*.

[582] Piervincenzo (Rinaldi) Danti, Giulio's father, is attributed with changing the family surname in honor of Dante Alighieri. See F. P. Fiore, "Danti, Piervincenzo," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 32: 667.

[583] De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli*, 12-13, 101-103; Parker, "Bronzino's Burlesque Poetry," 1013; Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini*, 2, 10-11.

notion of familial poetic legacy from his aunt and grandfather. Certainly he would find any prior study of Petrarch and Dante to be to his benefit in a town captivated by the study of its own linguistic heritage.

Promotion of the Tuscan vernacular language associated with Dante and Petrarch formed the core pursuit of the Accademia Fiorentina in the mid-sixteenth century. Modern scholarship on this academy has focused primarily on poetic rivalries within its ranks and on patterns of institutional change during the first two decades of its existence, prior to Danti's membership. That history provides important context for his matriculation in 1565. An informal group of merchants established the Accademia degli Umidi in 1540 for study and celebration of Tuscan vernacular in verse and prose, especially the literature that had been composed in Tuscan dialect since the thirteenth century.[584] Its members composed verse and song, as well as humorous sonnets.[585] They held private weekly meetings for the delivery of new compositions, as well as public lectures delivered in the vernacular on a wide range of subjects.[586] In the first few months of its existence, the group doubled its membership. Most of these new *Umidi* were university-trained literary figures and secretaries to the Duke, including Cosimo Bartoli and Pierfrancesco Riccio.[587] Michel Plaisance has noted that with this increasing presence of court servants, the academy became more closely aligned with the cultural goals of the

[584] De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli*, 100-101; Sherberg, "Question of Language," 27-28. On the confraternal nature of the early academy, Bryce, "Oral World," 81-93.

[585] Robert Nosow, "The Debate on Song in the Accademia Fiorentina," *Early Music History* 21 (2002): 175-186.

[586] De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli*, 100-108; Nosow, "Debate on Song," 173-176; Plaisance, *L'Academie et le prince*, 11-16; Sherberg, "Question of Language," 27-28.

[587] Plaisance, *L'Academie et le prince*, 11-13; De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli*, 103-106; Bryce, "Oral World," 79-82.

court.[588] Their glorification of Tuscan dialect aligned with "the conscious, multifaceted program of the Duke to restore Florence's reputation as the primary cultural center of Italy."[589] Cosimo's interest in the academy and the breadth of its educational agenda were important factors in Danti's later participation.

Following the influx of members attached to the court, the academicians introduced a new constitution and assumed the name "Accademia Fiorentina" on 25 March 1541, although members still called themselves the *Umidi*.[590] Duke Cosimo placed this group under his protection in 1542, and thus the informal corporation was transformed into a state institution. As its membership expanded, the range of professions and academic backgrounds of its participants also diversified. Artists first joined in 1541, the year in which Michelangelo, Bronzino, and Tribolo enrolled; Francesco da Sangallo, Cellini, and Bandinelli followed in 1545.[591] These artists, also the beneficiaries of steady court patronage through the auspices of Pierfrancesco Riccio,[592] were eventually expelled from membership as a result of growing factions within the Accademia Fiorentina.

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[588] Plaisance, *L'Academie et le prince*, 12-14, 113-116.

[589] Richard S. Samuels, "Benedetto Varchi, the Accademia degli Infiammati, and the Origins of the Italian Academic Movement," *Renaissance Quarterly* 29 (1976): 631.

[590] Plaisance, *L'Academie et le prince*, 13-14; De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli*, 107; Nosow, "Debate on Song," 175-176.

[591] Heikamp, "Rapporti," 141.

[592] Riccio joined in 1541. De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli*, 105; Gigliola Fragnito, "Un pratese al corte di Cosimo I: Riflessioni e materiali per un profilo di Pierfrancesco Riccio," *Archivio Storico Pratese* 62 (1986): 53-54. For Riccio's promotion of these artists, Elizabeth Pilliod, "Representation, Misrepresentation and Non-Representation: Vasari and his Competitors," in *Vasari's Florence: Artists and Literati at the Medicean Court*, ed. Philip Jacks (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998)," 40-43.

Factionalism existed within the membership from the time of its foundation and only increased as its enrollment expanded.[593] Two controversial academicians who both joined in 1543, Alfonzo de' Pazzi and Benedetto Varchi, found themselves on opposite sides of the divide. Varchi had been exiled from Florence since 1537 for his connections to anti-Medicean factions, and he had prospered in the scholastic cities of Padua and Bologna. Cosimo recognized Varchi's worth as a prominent literary figure whose reputation could enhance that of the Medici court, so the duke had Luca Martini recall Varchi to Florence in 1542 with a pardon and promise of patronage.[594] Pazzi, on the other hand, was known as "one of the eccentric men in all of Florence" and composed burlesque and biting verse.[595] Varchi's student, Antonfrancesco Grazzini, called il Lasca ("the Roach"), the apprentice to an apothecary and one of the original members of the Accademia degli Umidi, greeted Pazzi's membership with a satirical sonnet that called Pazzi "the craziest" ("Alfonso pazzissimo") and his membership a joke.[596] Pazzi, in turn, wrote two volumes of *Sonetti contro il Varchi* that personally and professionally attacked the literary giant.[597]

Such tensions between factions led to greater state control, especially under the direction of Lelio Torelli, Cosimo's Auditore (first secretary). Torelli organized the dissolution and reestablishment of the Academy with a new constitution in August

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[593] De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli*, 100-110; Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 49; Plaisance, *L'Academie et le prince*, 14.

[594] Mendelsohn, *Paragoni*, 3-5; Nosow, "Debate on Song," 195.

[595] Nosow, "Debate on Song," 193.

[596] See "Dell'Accademia or ben sperar si puote," in Nosow, "Debate on Song," 196-197.

[597] Nosow, "Debate on Song," 195. For other such debates, De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli*, 32-33, 125, 128; Nosow, "Debate on Song," 190-205, 211-215; Brian Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 111-114.

1547.[598] Following those reforms, readmission was only available to those in certain professional categories such courtiers and medical doctors or, beginning in 1549, by submission of a written work. Torelli's reforms ousted most of the original *Umidi*, as well as all the artists but Michelangelo, including the prolific poets Cellini and Bronzino.[599] In this same year, Cosimo commissioned Varchi to compose a history of Florence, part of the "strident new patriotism of Cosimo's regime."[600] Only in the mid-1560s, when Danti became a member, did the Accademia Fiorentina begin to readmit artists.

Danti's matriculation in the Accademia Fiorentina is consistent with other ways he sought to operate in local idioms. Because the Academy's mission emphasized the study and production of works in Tuscan vernacular, Danti composed poetry rooted in those traditions. The history of Tuscan poetry was key to the *questione della lingua*, an ongoing literary debate about whether scholastic Latin or vernacular language should dominate correspondence, pedagogical texts, and conversation.[601] The *Umidi*, with Cosimo's support, argued that vernacular Tuscan offered an opportunity both to spread knowledge, particularly about the ancients, the sciences, and philosophy, and to create

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[598] Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 66-67; Bryce, "Oral World," 101; Plaisance, *L'Academie et le prince*, 20-21.

[599] Reilly, "Grand Designs," 32-33; Plaisance, *L'Academie et le prince*, 21; Zygmunt Wazbinski, *L'Accademia Medicea del Disegno a Firenze nel Cinquecento: Idea e Istituzione* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1987), 1:209; Robert Gaston, "Iconography and Portraiture in Bronzino's Christ in Limbo," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 27 (1983): 64.

[600] Henk Th. van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici and his Self-Representation in Florentine Art and Culture*, trans. Andrew P. McCormick (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 154-55; Umberto Pirotti, *Benedetto Varchi e la cultura del suo tempo* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1971), 30. For the Storia Fiorentina: Benedetto Varchi, *Opere di Benedetto Varchi ora per la prima volta raccolte, con un discorso di A. Racheli intorno alla fililogia del secolo XVI e alla vita e agli scritti dell'autore, aggiuntevi le Lettere di Gio. Battista Busini sopra l'assedio di Firenze* (Trieste: Lloyd Austriaco, 1858), 1:3-444.

[601] De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli*, 69-86; Veen, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 166.

new new important works of literature in the models of Petrarch, Dante, and Boccaccio.[602] For Duke Cosimo, the *questione della lingua* was a local issue and the answer determined Florence's role as a cultural center. The more support given to those who argued for the use of continually evolving Tuscan vernacular over Latin, the greater his opportunity would be to locate both tradition and innovation in Florence.[603] Even in light of Danti's clear interest in current court discourse, the *questione della lingua* makes his membership in the Academy remarkable, since Florentine was not his native tongue.[604]

The academy consistently emphasized the superiority of vernacular texts written by native Florentines, a condition that makes Danti's participation all the more surprising. Giovanbattista Gelli, one of the founding *Umidi*, a shoemaker and a friend of Varchi, promoted the study of Dante Alighieri's works by the academy.[605] His writings on vernacular usage indicate that "the best use of Florentine and that which should be imitated, if possible, is the one which is spoken and written by the educated class in Florence."[606] Gelli claimed that the only prose worth reading was composed by Tuscan authors, and so Florentines should lead the way in implementing a standard Italian

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[602] De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli*, 144-155.

[603] van Veen, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 170-171.

[604] In the sixteenth century, Tuscan was gradually adopted in Umbria by the educated classes, although some authors, such as Mario Podiani, wrote and published in Perugian dialect. See Hermann Haller, *The Other Italy: The Literary Canon in Dialect* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 208-209.

[605] De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli*, 295, 305: following Gelli's death, formal study of the *Divine Comedy* within the Accademia Fiorentina ceased for most of the rest of the century, and he was one of the proponents the vernacular who based his arguments on the belief on that "good literature should express knowledge, not feeling alone."

[606] Ibid., 152.

language.[607] Benedetto Varchi voiced a similar preference for Florentine voices in *L'Ercolano*. He considered non-Florentines capable of writing formal language well, but described their satirical works in Tuscan as less successful because "naturalità e Fiorentinità (per dir cosi)" could not be taught.[608] Massimiliano Rossi translated Varchi's term *Fiorentinità*, describing local linguistic roots, as "Florentinity." Varchi characterized this quality as the flowing delivery of vernacular language associated with native speakers, whose familiarity with the language allowed for greater triumphs in word play and manipulation of meter. In a period when artists had been ousted from the academy, Danti's matriculation seems unexpected not only because his primary career was as a sculptor but also because leading voices of the Accademia Fiorentina clearly privileged the literary contributions of Florentines.

As in other aspects of his career, Danti could look to the venerated persona of Michelangelo, consummate artist-poet, for professional inspiration and a model of Florentine achievement.[609] Michelangelo became one of the first artist members of the Academia Fiorentina, although he lived in Rome throughout his membership. He was also the only artist whose membership survived the 1547 dissolution and reinstitution of the academy.[610] Anabel Thomas has demonstrated that Michelangelo's pursuits were

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[607] Ibid., 143.

[608] Massimiliano Rossi, "'that naturalness and Florentinity (so to speak)': Bronzino: language, flesh, and painting," in *Bronzino: Artist and Poet at the Court of the Medici*, ed. Carlo Falciani and Antonio Natali (Florence: Mandragora, 2010), 178-179, 191 n9; Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 45; Varchi, *Opere*, 2:124.

[609] Rick Scorza, "Vasari, Borghini and Michelangelo," in *Reactions to the Master: Michelangelo's Effect on Art and Artists in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis and Paul Joannides (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003),180-183, 199-200; Jane Tylus, "Cellini, Michelangelo, and the Myth of Inimitability," in *Benvenuto Cellini: Sculptor, Goldsmith, Writer* ed. Margaret A. Gallucci and Paolo Rossi (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 7-11; also see Chapter One.

[610] Heikamp, "Rapporti fra accademici ed artisti," 141-43.

"fashioned as a collective sign of 'Florentineness' by the cultural and political elite of sixteenth-century Florence as a means by which to assert and validate their own identities."[611] The poetry that Michelangelo had produced proved the superiority of Florentine vernacular for these academicians.[612] The figure of Michelangelo, Thomas argued, provided the academies of Florence a series of personalities and a variety of successes to hold up as paragons of what it meant to be Florentine. As long the Accademia Fiorentina championed an artist-poet as the exemplar of contemporary verse, other artists would have the opportunity to reach beyond their roles as makers of things to become also identified as writers and intellectuals. In order for Danti to be allowed to fully participate, he needed to establish his ability to work in the rhetoric and language then privileged by the intellectual elite of Florence.

The five poems that Danti composed during his time in Florence attest to his determination to participate in poetic discourse. His poetic practice parallels that of Bronzino and Cellini, who continued to produce lyric and burlesque poems even after they had been ousted from the Accademia.[613] Like Alessandro Allori, who joined the academy on the same day as Danti, both Bronzino and Cellini had the benefit of speaking

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[611] Thomas, "'Citadin nostro fiorentino'," 177.

[612] Thomas notes the range of mid-cinquecento literary figures who referred to Michelangelo and his work and identifies Michelangelo as the Accademia Fiorentina's counter-argument to Ludovico Dolce, who had claimed that Florence had no "poets or writers in which to pride itself." Thomas, "'Citadin nostro fiorentino'," 184, n34.

[613] No scholar has yet discussed the form or content of Danti's poetry. For Cellini's membership in the Accademia and production of poetry in the 1560s, see Margaret Gallucci, "A New Look at Benvenuto Cellini's Poetry" *Forum Italicum* 34 (2000): 345-47; Margaret Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini: Sexuality, Masculinity, and Artistic Identity in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 28-30, 47-54. For Bronzino, Gaston, "Iconography and Portraiture," 52-54, 62-66; Deborah Parker, "Towards a Reading of Bronzino's Burlesque Poetry," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997): 1011-1019; Deborah Parker, *Bronzino: Renaissance Painter as Poet* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 8-23.

Florentine as their native tongue. Recent scholarship has called attention to the poetic production of these two more senior artist-poets, especially in their composition of burlesque works.[614] Following his conviction and imprisonment for sodomy and the resulting decline in court patronage, Cellini never reentered the literary academy.[615] Bronzino, in contrast, did rejoin the Accademia Fiorentina in 1566.[616] These artist-poets could more credibly emulate the practice of Michelangelo due to their actual acquaintance with him. Danti could only pattern himself on the model of Michelangelo through knowledge that he acquired second-hand. Fortunately, the network of connections Danti had constructed included such figures as Vasari, Borghini, and Ammannati, eminently reliable sources on Michelangelo's skill set. The records of the Accademia Fiorentina give no description of Danti's talents or the reason for his admission.

DANTI'S POETRY

Danti wrote sonnets to build and to reinforce relationships with other members of the intellectual circles in Florence. The structure and format of these sonnets demonstrate Danti's familiarity with the norms of poetic practice. He composed at least four

[614] For Danti and Allori's matriculation on the same day, Reilly, "Drawing the Line," 31; Heikamp, "Rapporti fra accademici ed artisti," 140-141. For scholarship on Bronzino and Cellini, see previous note and also *Benvenuto Cellini: Sculptor, Writer, Goldsmith, ed. Margaret Gallucci and Paolo Rossi* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Rossi, "Florentinity," 177-193.

[615] Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini*, 9-12, 30, 45-49. However, the decline in the patronage received by Cellini could also be interpreted, as John Pope-Hennessy has argued, as of Cellini's own invention. John Pope-Hennessy, *Cellini* (New York: Abbeville Publishers, 1985), 281: "The trouble was not that Cellini, as the Duke put it, did not care to go on working; it was that he did not wish to work in the conditions obtaining in Florence at the time. He was an individualist – hence the apathy with which he viewed collaborative projects."

[616] Parker, *Painter as Poet*, 9.

Petrarchan sonnets, with two quattrains followed by a sestet, composed of two tercets, during his tenure in the Tuscan capital.[617] While none of Danti's known sonnets conform to traditional Petrarchan themes of love and longing, sonnets in the Petrarchan form were the common currency of poetic discourse in sixteenth-century Florence. Brian Richardson defined several modes of scribal publication for such sonnets, from sonnets collected in manuscripts in preparation for print publication to sonnets exchanged in correspondence to reinforce social bonds.[618] Because of the immediacy of the author's mark and the rapidity with which written poems could be exchanged, sonnets such as the ones produced by Danti and his colleagues served the purpose of "bonding groups of like-minded individuals into a community, sect, or political faction, with the extrance of texts in manuscript serving to nourish a shared set of values and to enrich personal allegiances."[619] Reinforcing social bonds through poetic exchange was particularly suited to the networks of relationships at Renaissance courts.[620] Each of Danti's known sonnets served that purpose.

Petrarchan sonnets in the *tenzone* format were exchanged through the networks of the Medici court as a way to demonstrate erudition and to participate in intellectual conversation. Subject matter covered a range of topics from spirituality to works of art, and from social relationships to burlesque satire. Playing with meter and rhyme scheme showcased the author's knowledge of linguistic rules and poetic form. The popular

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[617] Gallucci, "New Look," 347-350.

[618] Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, 95-114. For scribal publication, see Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 35-39.

[619] Love, *Culture and Commerce of Texts*, 177. Also excerpted in Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, 2.

[620] Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, 2, 10-11, 44-53.

tenzone sonnets, in particular, functioned through social interaction. In directing or addressing a recipient, the first author would compose a *proposta* sonnet that established a rhyme scheme and subject matter to another author, whose *risposta* would replicate the rhyme scheme as closely as possible while responding to the theme introduced by the first author.[621] In this way, sonnets functioned as a form of intellectual correspondence and play.[622] Victoria Kirkham has described that these literary figures, "through sonnet *proposta* and *risposta*, trade compliments in an "autograph" exchange couched as a rivalry of flattery."[623] Some of these sonnets appeared in printed collections and some have been preserved in manuscript form due to their association with famous authors, but many slips of paper bearing conversational sonnets undoubtedly have been lost because they were literally exchanged.[624] While many sonnets were copied for revision and to be shared among circles of friends or those with mutual interests, others were never intended for a public audience.[625] Danti composed his four known sonnets to match the ongoing exchange of such poems among those who were serving the Medici court and also to reinforce social relationships.

Danti also composed at least one lengthy poem, a satirical *capitolo* in *terza rima*, on the subject of alchemy that has parodic qualities similar to the *capitoli* that Bronzino produced. Vasari described the *capitoli* written by Bronzino as distinctive for their "bizarre and capricious" characteristics, in line with his interest in burlesque poems by

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[621] Gallucci, "New Look," 347-8; Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, 100-101. Girolamo Ruscelli had described the rules for composing risposte in his *Del modo di comporre in versi* (Venice: Giovanni Battista e Melchior Sassa, 1559), cited in Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, 100.

[622] Parker, *Painter as Poet*, 42.

[623] Kirkham, *Laura Battiferra*, 36.

[624] Gallucci, "New Look," 346; Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini*, 50.

[625] Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, 14-20; Love, *Culture and Commerce of Texts*, 43-44, 184-191.

Francesco Berni.[626] In such poems, Bronzino used the traditional poetic forms of the *trecento* literary figures, such as *terza rima*, to discuss nontraditional subject matter through playful humor.[627] Richardson has noted that these *capitoli* "lent themselves naturally to scribal publication" and were written with a tone of conversational narrative, a quality apparent in the *capitolo* by Danti.[628] Other members of the Accademia Fiorentina, including Grazzini (il Lasca) and Pazzi, also composed satirical verses. Some of these they composed as biting derision directed to members of opposing cliques.[629] Although Danti probably did not compose his poetry according to the exact models of fellow artist-poets Bronzino and Cellini, as such emulation could be considered derivative, the similarities between his poems and those by his peers indicate that he was aware of the expectations of poets and their audiences in Florence. Danti composed all his currently known poems to assert his voice within the literary network at the Medici court.

DANTI'S SONNETS: RELATIONSHIPS, STATUS AND POETIC FORM

The remnants of Danti's poetic output are scarce enough to hamper definitive conclusions about his literary style, yet they reveal much about the ways in which he built

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[626] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 6:237; Rossi, "Florentinity," 177; Parker, *Painter as Poet*, 15; Parker, "Bronzino's Burlesque Poetry," 1019.

[627] Most famously among artist-poets, Bronzino's poem "Del pennello," which simultaneously treats the topics of painting, via the brush that gives the poem its title, and sexual positions, via the secondary meaning of the title – the penis. See Parker, *Painter as Poet*, 25; Frederika H. Jacobs, "Aretino and Michelangelo, Dolce and Titian: Femmina, Masculo, Grazia," *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000): 52-54; Parker, "Bronzino's Burlesque Poetry," 1025.

[628] Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, 126.

[629] Heikamp, "Rapporti fra accademici ed artisti," 146-47.

relationships with more prominent members of the court's intellectual circles. Deborah Parker has identified the usefulness of Bronzino's sonnets as "purveyors of meaning" about status and social relationships at the Medici court.[630] Danti's four sonnets, each addressed to a specific recipient, demonstrate that he was taking part in poetic conversations, and their structure, tone, and subject matter reveal Danti's ability to play creatively with language according to the norms of poetic exchange.

Danti addressed his four known sonnets to artists and intellectuals of professional prominence in Florence. Fra Timoteo Bottonio, a Dominican friar and fellow Perugian, already moved in the intellectual circles of Florence by the time Danti relocated to the city. Danti replied to a *proposta* sonnet by Bottonio in the late 1550s (see Appendix, 1).[631] Danti also composed two sonnets (Appendix, 2 and 3) to Cellini, who had so angrily censured Danti's participation in Medicean patronage through the sonnet fragments discussed in Chapter One.[632] Danti addressed his fourth known sonnet (Appendix, 4) to Benedetto Varchi, the court historian and a leading member of the Accademia Fiorentina.[633] Danti wrote no surviving sonnets to a fellow artist of his own generation and professional standing, such as Alessandro Allori or Domenico Poggini. These four poems illustrate that Danti used the exchange of verse to reinforce "vertical" bonds

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[630] Parker, *Painter as Poet*, 44.

[631] Bottonio had been in Florence since the early 1550s, studying and delivering lectures at the convent of San Marco. By 1559, he was corresponding with Benedetto Varchi about sonnets. As a lecturer on philosophy and theology, he moved back and forth between Dominican convents in Rome and Florence until 1566, when he became prior of a convent in Viterbo. Victor Ivo Comparato, "Bottoni, Timoteo," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 13 (1971): 487-488.

[632] See Chapter One and Scarabelli, "Il granchio e il grifone."

[633] Mendelsohn, *Paragoni*, 3: Varchi as "one of the men through whom Cosimo de' Medici hoped to restore the city's artistic hegemony and enhance his own power." On Varchi, Pirotti, *Benedetto Varchi*, 1-62; Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 1-43.

within the court network rather than "horizontal" bonds to men of his own generation and profession.[634]

The formats in which Danti's poems survived also provide important social context for his poetic practice. The print publications that contain Danti's sonnets to Timoteo Bottonio and Benedetto Varchi also include those authors' original *proposta* sonnets to him.[635] The two sonnets that Danti sent to Cellini were probably unsolicited, but they are preserved among Cellini's papers in Florence. Ricardson has argued that sharing handwritten sonnets worked to "reinforce existing social bonds and to help create new ones in a process of community fashioning."[636] With the exception of the sonnet to Varchi, none of these poems were published in print during Danti's lifetime and thus they can only be dated internally, via their references to specific artistic works and relationships.

Such internal evidence suggests that Danti's sonnet to Timoteo Bottonio was the earliest of these works, since Bottonio's *proposta* consoled the sculptor following the failed casting of the *Hercules and Antaeus* group, his first commission in Florence.[637] Bottonio dated his sonnet November 15, 1559, and he praised Danti's talent in the wake of that disastrous commission. Both *proposta* and Danti's *risposta* were published in Bottonio's *Poesie Sacre*, compiled in the eighteenth century from the cleric's manuscript in the Perugian archives.[638] Bottonio wrote poems of praise about several of Danti's

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[634] Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, 20.

[635] The manuscript of Bottonio's collection of sonnets is also preserved in the Biblioteca Augusta in Perugia, Mss G 73 and 1061.

[636] Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, 10.

[637] Appendix, 1.

Florentine works, including one that celebrated the *Honor* sculpture for Sforza Almeni and another later poem in honor of the ephemeral equestrian sculpture of *Victory over Fraud* that Danti created in 1565.[639] Because these laudatory poems began with the first of Danti's commissions, Bottonio was likely the earliest voice in Florence to address the young sculptor in poetic correspondence.[640] By opening this poetic conversation, he broadened the opportunities for Danti to participate in Florentine intellectual life beyond his work as a sculptor. In his *proposta* (Appendix, 1), Bottonio praised Danti's talent in spite of the failed casing, and invited him to turn away from secular works. Bottonio predicted that Danti would excel beyond the achievements of the great heroic artists of Antiquity if he created sacred works in marble and bronze.

The *risposta* that Danti composed replicated Bottonio's form and rhyme scheme, voiced Danti's praise for the holy profession that Bottonio chose, and expanded their discussion of the work to include its social context. In the first quatrain, Danti maintained the rhymes established by Bottonio's words "strong" (forte) and "squeezed" (strinse), appropriate references to the story of Antaeus, to allude to the social context in which worked. Danti recounts that he was led down a path by "false guides" (false scorte) and allowed desire for glory to "press" him (spinse) towards lofty goals, with the result that

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[638] *Poesie sagre del padre maestro frate Timoteo Bottonio,* ed. Cesare Orlandi (Perugia: Mario Riginaldi, 1749), 1:29. The only print copy of this publication listed through WorldCat is housed at the British Library.

[639] Both of these later sonnets appear in the second volume of Bottonio's *Poesie Sacre*, 2:106, 161. For the sonnet on the *Honor* sculpture, see also Chapter One above; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 149, 369; Schlosser, "Aus der Bildnerwerkstatt," 76. For the sonnet on the ephemeral *Victory* sculpture, see also Chapter Three above, Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 270-71; Schlosser, "Aus der Bildnerwerkstatt," 79.

[640] Bottonio was also the first source beyond court payment records to document Danti's activities in Florence.

he did not achieve the high goals for which he had aimed.[641] Whereas Bottonio had discussed merely the work and the sculptor, Danti introduced the concept of feeling pressured by the expectations of a group of unnamed people. Yet he struggled to achieve his goals, and aiming so high "always brings me pain and suffering." Danti was pressed just as Antaeus had been, and he had exerted effort as Hercules had, but these exertions led to disappointment. These verses divert the reader from the work itself to focus on the circumstances of making sculpture in Florence.

Danti turned his attention to Bottonio's work as a spiritual leader in the second quatrain. He implied that the friar's work was both more important and more successful than his own. Again, Danti widened the discussion to include the larger world when he described Bottonio as a worthy guide who could "every man to the celestial gates," in contrast to whose false guides who had led Danti.[642] Here, Danti played with the imagery of "binding" (cinse), an allusion to Antaeus bound by the arms of Hercules, to reference Bottonio's act of donning the medicant habit.

Danti returned to his own struggles in the sestet and asserted that he should be more resilient in the face of professional turbulence, "the fury of many fierce storms."[643] The word "opera" appears three times in the sonnet and indicates that Danti's primary subject was his professional life. Danti used the idiom of being satisfied at the dinner table, "raising one's flank" (alzare il fianco), to suggest that he should be similarly contented by his life, even in the midst of turmoil. He then concluded the sonnet with

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[641] Lines 1-4: "Ahi ch'errai nel sentier con false scorte/ Dell'oprar mio, dove 'l desio mi spinse,/ Mentr' ei leve, e sublime a far m'astrinse/ Opra, ch'ognor pena, e dolor m'apporte."

[642] Lines 5-8: "Voi per la via, ch'alle celesti Porti/ Guida ogn'Uom, che quaggiù se stesso vinse,/ Veggio sicuro andar, poichè vi cinse/ L'Abito sacro, e fè del Ciel consorte.

[643] Line 11: "Contra il furor di tante aspre procelle."

resignation about how little he had actually accomplished, "in vain I worry, and tired/ I leave not enjoying these or those."[644] His worries prevented him from excelling in either the sacred path Bottonio followed or in his own secular one. Yet the constant professional posturing that characterized professional life in Florence may suggest that such self-deprecation should be read as self-praise.[645] By 1560, around the time Danti was likely replying to Bottonio, he had completed two bronze reliefs for the court and had the Honor sculpture underway. Danti drew attention to his professional turmoil to remind his reader of the very resilience that he claimed was eluding him.

Danti composed two sonnets addressed to Benvenuto Cellini that also incorporate a balance between glowing praise for his addressee and a measure of self-deprecation. It is perhaps surprising that Danti would approach Cellini through the medium of poetry, given the sonnets that Cellini had composed to censure Danti's sculpture practice.[646] According to these acerbic and condemnatory poems about Danti, Cellini seems to have resented the younger sculptor from the time of his arrival in Florence.[647] Nonetheless, Danti addressed two sonnets to the Florentine sculptor, one in praise of his marble *Crucifix* and one in praise of his talents in verse and sculpture. These sonnets appear in Cellini manuscripts in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, and they were published with other

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[644] Lines 13-14: "...e stanco, / Non godendo queste io parti, nè quelle."

[645] A counterpart to such pride cloaked in poetic humility can be found in poems of ironic praise. See Paolo Cherchi, "L'encomio paradossale nel manierismo," *Forum Italicum* 9 (1975): 368-82; Kirkham, *Laura Battiferra*, 36.

[646] See Chapter One and Scarabelli, "Il Granchio e il Grifone."

[647] Scarabelli has shown that Cellini's poem fragments about Danti's work on the *Hercules and Antaeus* date from as early as the Perugian's arrival in Florence. According to Scarabelli's analysis, Cellini's resentment seems only to have grown when Danti participated in the Neptune competition. Scarabelli, "Il granchio e il grifone," 93-99.

contents of that manuscript in the late nineteenth century.[648] The collection contains Cellini's own poetry, and yet no *risposta* sonnets to Danti appear in its pages. Cellini may not have responded at all to the sonnets Danti wrote. If he did respond, he did not record his *risposte* in his papers, perhaps because he considered them too quickly drafted or unimportant to record. Danti used these sonnets to reach out to Cellini and to forge useful ties of brokerage:

> The exclusivity of the scribal medium made it ideally suited to... the client-patron relationship in which the writer produced multiple pieces specifically tailored to the taste of his patron and his friends.[649]

By sending sonnets to Cellini, Danti gave him unique access to an original work that might later be shared with others in their intellectual network. Danti may have reached out to Cellini in order to broaden his own network beyond the Almeni-Vasari-Borghini clique.

The first sonnet by Danti to appear in Cellini's manuscript was written in praise of the *Crucifix*. It can be more securely dated than the second sonnet because it describes a specific work.[650] Cellini had completed the white marble figure of the crucified Christ and mounted it on a black marble cross in 1557, but only signed and dated it in 1562.[651] In 1565, he sold the *Crucifix* to Duke Cosimo, who displayed it in the Palazzo Pitti.[652] Given

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[648] Adolfo Mabellini, *Delle Rime di Benvenuto Cellini* (Rome, Turin, Milan and Florence: Paravia, 1885), 326-327 and 329-330. The two sonnets also appear in Adolfo Mabellini, *Le Rime di Benvenuto Cellini* (G.B. Paravia, 1890) 3:274.

[649] Love, *Culture and Commerce of Texts*, 61. See also Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, 2: "Manuscript transmission was thus particularly well suited for use by those who wished to win favour in some way."

[650] The sonnet begins on appears on f. 34r.

[651] Michael Cole, "Benvenuto Cellini's Designs for his Tomb," *Burlington Magazine* 140 (1998): 800-801.

[652] Pope-Hennessy, *Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, 3:480.

Cellini's apparent animosity towards Danti, it seems unlikely that the Perugian would have had access to the sculpture before it entered the Duke's collection. This sonnet, then, probably dates from around 1565, the same year in which Danti entered the Accademia Fiorentina and juggled so many permanent and ephemeral sculpture commissions for the court.[653] In his praise for the *Crucifix*, Danti engaged in the ongoing Florentine practice of responding to sculpture with verse; both encomiastic praise and biting critique were often delivered via sonnets.[654]

The contents of the sonnet on the crucifix describe not the manual crafting of the object, but the spiritual qualities of the marble sculpture and its effect upon the viewer. Danti began the sonnet with praise for Cellini by playing with the component parts of Cellini's given name. "Ben" (well) is the second word of the first line and "venuto" (came) appears as second to last word of that same line. This structure of bookending the first line with Cellini's given name, Benvenuto, falls within the larger parenthetical structure of addressing him directly, and it puns on the literal meaning of the name, "welcome." The first word of the sonnet is the formal pronoun for "you" (voi) and the concluding word of the first line is the formal verb "you are" (sete).[655] The second line

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[653] The most recent project on which Cellini and Danti both participated prior to 1565 would have been the planning of Michelangelo's funeral. Cellini withdrew from the planning committee due to conflicts with the others, and Danti was among the "younger" artists that created sculpture and painting for the catafalque. As Cellini was already in a foul state of mind and withdrew his own participation, he likely did not look kindly on Danti's willingness to be labeled as one of the up and coming artists in the same year he had been creating prominent facade sculpture for the Uffizi.

[654] Shearman, *Only Connect…, Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance*, The National Gallery of Art, Bollingen Series XXXV, 37 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992) 44-58; Heikamp, "Rapporti fra artisti e accademici," 139, 150-158. For a Renaissance collection of such sonnets on sculpture, see especially the appendix to Benvenuto Cellini, *Due trattati, uno intorno alle otto principali arti dell'oreficeria; l'altro in materia dell'Arte della Scultura* (Florence: Valenti Panizzii and Marco Peri, 1568), unpaginated.

[655] Line 1: "Voi ben dal ciel, voi ben venuto sete"

introduces the subject of the poem, the "image of God" that Cellini carved, and presents its "unveiling" as a revelation of divine presence: "to anyone Christ would seem present."[656] Danti's description of these general and personalized reactions aligns with contemporary theology about the role of the artist in creating affective representations of the divine.[657] Viewers even witnessed the last breath of the dying Christ pass "from his sacred lips."[658]

The sonnet focuses on the sculpture and on its semi-miraculous qualities from the second through the eleventh line. The structure of this sonnet, then, depends not on a shift in subject matter, as the entire sonnet treats only the Crucifix, but on a shift in the roles of viewers in relation to this object. The first quatrain addresses Cellini directly as the maker of the object, the secon quatrain presents the effect of the sculpture on "anyone," the first tercet presents Danti's own reaction in the first person, and the three concluding verses return the reader's attention to the universal impact of the sculpture. The concluding sestet shifts towards Danti's own personal reaction to the sculpture. Rather than "to anyone," he asserts that "I clearly see" the breath and "I cannot tell" whether the material is flesh or stone. This description of the sculpture's lifelike qualities parallels Cellini's own account of how the image appeared to him in a vision during his imprisonment in Castel Sant'Angelo.[659] In the final three lines, Danti reasserted that these miraculous

[656] Lines 5-6: "Quando sì nobil opra scoprirete, /A ciaschedun parrà Cristo presente".

[657] See especially Marcia Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 5-8, on the affective image; 135, on the artist as an instrument of God, "who makes the spectator conscious of God's perfection"; 165-171 on evoking empathy from viewers. Also Mary Weitzel Gibbons, *Giambologna, Narrator of the Catholic Reformation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 71-72, 87, on the duty of artists to evoke "appropriate responses in the communicants."

[658] Lines 9-10: "uscir l'ultimo fiato /Dai santi labbri..."

[659] Jane Tylus pointed out the connections between the living qualities of this statue and Cellini's description of a Jupiter statue he made for the King of France. When Cellini nudged this statue to move it

qualities and the "truth" revealed through contemplation of this image are universally available to all viewers. In the highly devotional tone of this sonnet, Danti reaches out to connect with Cellini through religious piety, an aspect of the biographies of both sculptors that has yet to be fully teased out in the literature.

Danti entirely omited any allusions to the professions of poetry and sculpture that he shared with Cellini. The only reference to the materiality of the sculpture, or to the sculptors' shared experience of carving marble, was Danti's perception that this rock may, in fact, be flesh: "I cannot tell whether he is flesh or bright stone."[660] The illusionistic boundary between flesh and stone was a trope among discussions of sculpture in the sixteenth century, certainly drawn from the Pygmalion myth but also engaging the shared terminology of medicine and sculpture-making.[661] Even in this reference to the substance of the body and block, however, Danti focused more on the numinous presence of Christ than on the carving, to privilege Cellini's spiritual and intellectual accomplishments over his technical ones. In his poetic praise of this sculpture, Danti demonstrated his ability to recognize good *disegno*, and he also professed a shared experience of the divine.

In his second sonnet to Cellini, Danti excluded references to specific sculptures and, instead, worked to forge a collegial relationship with Cellini by celebrating to his

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in the candlelight, "la faceva parer viva." This image of bringing material to life reflects the understanding of the flesh of Christ as divine incarnation. Tylus, "Myth of Inimitability," 16-21.

[660] Lines 10-11: "s'egli è carne o sasso /Chiaro non scorgo..."

[661] Cole, *Cellini and the Principles of Sculpture*, 89-96; Cole, *Ambitious Form*, 98-99. Also, Rebekah Smick, "Vivid Thinking: Word and Image in Descriptive Techniques of the Renaissance," in *Antiquity and its Interpreters*, ed. Alina Payne, Ann Kuttner and Rebekah Smick (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 161-162 on lifelikeness as a topos that Vasari and Varchi used to describe sculpture. Also, Jane Tylus, "Cellini, Michelangelo, and the Myth of Inimitability," 17, on Cellini's desire to make statues seem living: "la faceva parer viva."

genius and talent. Had Cellini deigned to be a broker or an ally for Danti, his connections to the literary circles of Florence would have reinforced and broadened Danti's access to that network. Following the death in 1560 of Bandinelli, who himself had been a member of the Accademia Fiorentina, and in 1564 Michelangelo, Cellini was the only remaining sculptor in Florence who was also a practicing poet. Cellini joined the literary academy in 1545, although he never gained readmittance after the reforms of 1547.[662] Although excluded from that academy for the remainder of his life, Cellini continued his poetic practice and composed at least the 125 poems preserved among his papers in the Riccardiana.[663] When he stopped receiving sculpture commissions, he turned his attention to his writings.[664] So serious was he about his practice as a poet that he sought the advice of Benedetto Varchi, the literary luminary of the Accademia, with whom Cellini corresponded.[665] What we know of his interaction with Danti, however, suggests that Cellini would have been unlikely to share his access to Florentine literary circles with his Perugian competitor. Whereas Cellini was receiving fewer commissions, Vasari increasingly directed court patronage to Danti during the late 1550s and through the 1560s. If Cellini continued to bear Danti any of the jealousy apparent in his early poems, he would have been unlikely to assist this rival for court patronage. Perhaps Danti composed this sonnet to Cellini in the hope that flattery might overcome Cellini's

[662] Heikamp, "Rapporti fra accademici ed artisti," 141, for enrollment dates of Tribolo, Michelagnelo, Cellini, Bandinelli, and others.

[663] Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini*, 48-49.

[664] Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini*, 39.

[665] Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 64-65; Mendelsohn, *Paragoni*, 31-32; Heikamp, "Rapporti fra artisti e accademici," 144-145, n1. Varchi also addressed a sonnet to Cellini, see Varchi, *Opere*, 2:991.

resentment. As a sculptor, poet, author of treatises, and Florentine, Cellini would have been a valuable mentor to Danti, and he could have opened many doors.

Danti clearly intended his second sonnet to Cellini as the initiation of a poetic correpondence between them, founded in mutual praise. This sonnet aligns more closely with the kind of praise evident in his sonnet to Bottonio or, later, to Benedetto Varchi. Danti seems to have begun the correspondence, an act that clearly indicates his desire to be acknowledged as a peer.[666] Unlike the sonnet to Bottonio, which referenced the larger context of Florence and professional pressures, or the previous sonnet to Cellini, which celebrated the devotional experience of seeing the Crucifix, this sonnet is entirely encomiastic and focuses very narrowly on the relationship between the two sculptors. The first quatrain asks Cellini to forgive any seeming effrontery on Danti's part: "Please, Sir, do not take offense at my too great ardor."[667] These four lines reveal that the act that may have offended was not related to sculpture, but was Danti's bold composition of this sonnet. Danti acknowledged that he could only compose "uncultivated verse," which, nonetheless, "as best as it can" celebrates the genius of Cellini.[668] Thus, the first quatrain draws attention to the difference in poetic talent between the two men, even as it draws attention to their shared literary activities.

Danti introduced the theme of Cellini's superior talent as a sculptor in the second quatrain. These lines commend Cellini for his ability to render "in small stone" such "great *disegno*."[669] The interior rhyme of "leve" (light) and "breve" (small), in lines seven

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[666] Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, 101: "Scribal exchanges of poems were, for any writer, an important means of entering into literary dialogue with other poets and of gaining recognition from them."
[667] Lines 1-2: "Non vogliate, Signor, prendere a sdegno/ Mio troppo ardir..."

[668] Lines 2-4: "chè ben l'alma s'accorge/ De l'umil verso incolto, ond'ella porge,/ Quanto può, loda al chiaro vostro ingegno."

[669] Lines 6-8: "Frenar non posso il gran desio che sorge/ Pur leve in alto, mentre attento scorge/ In breve sasso un così gran disegno."

and eight, not only displays Danti's play with language but also sets up an opposition between metaphorical weight and lightness that is characteristically Petrarchan. Danti claims that he cannot suppress his desire to "raise high" (leve in alto) his praise for Cellini's ability to find excellent form in "stone" or "rock" (sasso), materials associated with heaviness. In these first eight lines, Danti pointed to the two pursuits he shared with Cellini, verse and carving. Yet, even as he drew attention to their commonalities and implied the potential for a collegial relationship, Danti used praise of Cellini's genius to establish a gulf of talent and status between them. Even as the sonnet drew them together, it established professional distance to mitigate the threat of rivalry that had so enraged Cellini.

Some encomiastic Petrarchan sonnets would introduce a clever thematic turn at the ninth line, yet here Danti continued his assertions of Cellini's greatness and of his own humility. These concluding lines restate in even more glorious terms that Cellini's talents could only be praised properly by "a new Homer," which Danti is not as his "intelligence" does not suffice.[670] Danti asked only that these verses be read as the evidence of "a sincere heart," though of "low style." Twice in the sestet, Danti uses the word "cor" (heart), first to communicate that these sentiments originate in his deepest feelings, "ben dentro al cor mi sento," and then to express that he merely wants to "show" Cellini that his heart is earnest, "sincero." As he had begun the sonnet, Danti concluded it with an assertion that he knows his poetic skills are not great and cannot "add fame to your name."[671] Danti implied that he could not resist the desire "to sing of you." His

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[670] Lines 9-11: "Ben dentro al cor mi sento et quanto et come / Di voi cantar dovrebbe un nuovo Homero;/Ma l'ingegno non basta a esprimer poi."

[671] Lines 12-14: "Dunque sol per mostrarvi il cor sincero,/ Con basso stil mossi a cantar di voi,/ Non già per giunger fama al vostro nome."

admiration of Cellini, the intense ardor that he worried would offend Cellini, was great enough that he could not resist composing a few "humble, uncultivated" lines. Through this sonnet, Danti approached Cellini with modesty. Proclamations of humility rarely ring true, however, and Danti did choose to write of Cellini's genius, even though he was no Homer. As Victoria Kirkham has written of such correspondence sonnets, "the fun consists in outdoing each other with clever variation through hyperbole, amusing false modesty, and the classical arsenal of rhetoric."[672] In this sonnet, Danti sought to tread the line between peer, in his acknowledgment of their shared pursuits as poets and sculptors, and supplicant.

Danti addressed his fourth sonnet to Benedetto Varchi, the most famous poet then serving the Medici court, as a *risposta* to Varchi's *proposta*. The formal characteristics shared by these two sonnets belie the great difference in status between the two poets, both members of the Accademia Fiorentina. Varchi's *Sonetti spirituali* were published in Florence in 1573, eight years after Varchi's death and in the same year when Danti moved from Florence back to Perugia. The editors of this printed volume, Filippo and Jacopo Giunti, included *tenzone* sonnets that Varchi had addressed to artists and poets as well as their responses.[673] Varchi had addressed a sonnet to Danti about his own attempts at spiritual humility and about the piety of both Vincenzo and his brother Egnazio.[674] Varchi recounted that since he had awakened to a fuller awareness of God's greatness, he

[672] Kirkham, *Laura Battiferra*, 37.

[673] Varchi, *Sonetti Spirituali di M. Benedetto Varchi*. The introductory letter by the Giunti dedicates the volume to Prince Francesco and his love of literary works. Varchi's sonnet to Danti is also reprinted in Varchi, *Opere*, 2:992.

[674] Perhaps surprisingly, none of Varchi's sonnets in this collection addressed Egnazio. Francesco had denounced Egnazio to his order in 1572, see del Badia, *Egnazio Danti*, 4. Perhaps the ire of the prince caused the Giunti to exclude Egnazio even if he actually had participated in poetic correspondence with Varchi.

found himself so overcome with awe that this humility threatened to keep him from prayer. He asked the Vincenzo and Egnazio pray on his behalf. These professions of faith gave Danti the opportunity to return to expressions of avid devotion similar to those he had included in his sonnet on Cellini's Crucifix.

Once again a *tenzone* in Petrarchan form, Danti's *risposta* echoed rhyme scheme of Varchi's initial sonnet by repeating its exact words; each line of Danti's poem ends with a word taken directly from the conclusion of that same line in Varchi's sonnet.[675] The content of the sonnet by Danti, therefore, mirrors that of Varchi. The first eight lines of both sonnets include imagery of awaking from sleep to spiritual awareness of God's greatness, while the concluding sestets are filled with language of praise. Varchi's sestet first praised Danti and Egnazio: "You therefore, Danti, so bright and so pious, with your sweet and so dear to me brother / Friar, praise and thank God," and then concludes with three lines calling the brothers to honor God's power and Christ's sacrifice, "for me."[676]

Danti used the quatrains of his *risposta* to expand on the theme of spiritual humility introduced by Varchi. He conveyed even broader humility through his own deference to Varchi and his admiration for Varchi's piety. To begin his sonnet, Danti called the sins that had troubled Varchi "blessed," since they lead to "such great praise and thanks."[677] He extolled Varchi's example of prayer for its capacity to "placate God's every anger." According to Danti, the prayers of Varchi had the power even to expand

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[675] Starting line 1, these concluding words in order are: tante, sonno, assonno, innante, quante, puonno, Donno, innante, pio, Frate, Dio, date, fio, morio.

[676] Varchi, Lines 12-14: "À Lui potenza, à Lui fortezza date,/ Qual non è poco, anzi pur nella fio/ À chi nacque per Noi, visse, e morio?"

[677] Lines 1-2: "BEATE colpe, e di tali e tante/ Lodi, e grazie cagion fur sì"

devotion to God, to "make Him who was Master of us the Master of others."[678] Through his deference, Danti tells his readers of his admiration for Varchi's exemplary achievements in verse and in his praise for the divine. These readers, of course, would have been Varchi himself and those in his circle. The deference expressed by Danti contrasts with the simple fondness Varchi had expressed towards the Danti brothers, who were "so dear to me". Varchi's original use of "Frate" to identify Egnazio Danti evokes the double meaning of the word to indicate both sibling and friar. Vincenzo seems to have enjoyed that double meaning enough to reuse "Frate" in the same way in his *risposta*, in which he stated that both he and his brother both thanked God for Varchi's gifts.

Danti also borrowed an element of syntax and structure from the sonnet by Varchi. Four times within his sonnet, Varchi included trios of ideas, lists such as "long, wide-awake, and mortal slumber," and "praises that ever were, or are, or can be."[679] To reflect Varchi's construction, Danti included a similar list at the beginning of his sestet: "With your noble, sacred, and pious style."[680] Although Danti reused this construct only once, he cleverly placed this citation of Varchi within the lines in which he praised Varchi's poetic style. To conclude the sonnet, Danti asked to be included in Varchi's prayers and expressed the hope that Varchi might act as a spiritual intercessor, laying

[678] Lines 6-8: "ch'ognor puonno/ Render placado Dio d'ogni ira; e Donno/ Altrui far sopra à chi di Noi fu innante."

[679] Varchi sonnet, line 2: "lungo, desto, e mortal sonno;" line 6: "Lode mai furo, o sono, od esser puonno." The other two examples are in lines 8 and 14.

[680] Danti sonnet, line 9: "Col vostro altero stile hor sacro, e pio." Notice that Danti further hid this structural citation of Varchi by changing the syntax of the list, separating the first element, "altero," from the last two, "sacro, e pio."

Danti's "every pain" before "Him who died for all of us."[681] This sentiment echoed Varchi's original request to be included in the prayers of both Vincenzo and Egnazio. In Danti's sonnet, his deference to Varchi drew attention to their difference in age and status. As Danti widely praised Varchi's magnificence and called attention to Varchi's ability to lead people to spiritual piety, he conveyed supplication as well as gratitude that Varchi would include him in his poetic correspondence. In this poetic exchange, Danti had achieved some of the prominence he clearly desired not only as a sculptor but also as a participant in elite literary dialogue.

Other artists who provided *risposte* in *Sonetti spirituali* also reused the exact language of Varchi's *proposta*, as well as the standard practice of maintaining its rhyme scheme. In Domenico Poggini's contribution, immediately adjacent to the one by Danti, Poggini changed most of the concluding words; of the words he did repeat, he varied their order.[682] Vasari composed two sonnets in response to Varchi's original. The first of Vasari's responses repeated all the concluding words but two and the second *risposta* varied the words but maintained the rhyme scheme.[683] Although this single sonnet can only suggest the tenor of Danti's contribution to literary circles at court, it suggests that he operated within the heart of poetic practice in Florence, the circle surrounding Benedetto Varchi.

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[681] Lines 12-14: "Ma Voi, mentre tal lodi, e grazie date;/ Prego ch'insieme ogni mio graue fio/ Ponghiate avanti à chi per Noi morío."

[682] Varchi's, 47: sera, espresse, messe, spera, Primavera, spesse, alesse, pera, opre, immortali, mali, adopre, fuora, ancora. In Poggini's response, 93: schiera, opresse, tesse, prim'era, sfera, stesse, havesse, vera, s'adopre, l'ali, Mortali, cuopre, honora, hora.

[683] Varchi's, 46: l'arte, spirto, spirto, parte, diparte, mirto, irto, parte, disegno, vita, 'ngegno, gradita, degno, infinita. Vasari's first response, 92: l'arte, spirto, spirto, parte, parte, Mirto, dirto, parte, disegno vita, ingegno, gradita, degno, salita. His second, 93: l'arte, spirto, spirto, carte, Marte, Mirto, dirto, parte, pregno, vita, Regno, nuita, disegno, infinita.

Danti addressed all four of these sonnets to figures in Florence whose professional status exceeded his own, and his practice reflected this poetic culture of Florence.[684] His sonnets indicate, too, how closely intertwined the artistic and literary circles were in late *cinquecento* Florence. Benedetto Varchi had acted as one of the primary protagonists of this drawing-together of the arts of painting, sculpture, and poetry in the 1540s.

BENEDETTO VARCHI, ARTISTS IN FLORENCE, AND DANTI

Danti scholars have been eager to look for evidence of a close friendship between Benedetto Varchi and Danti. Proof of such a relationship would indicate that Danti had been accepted by the intellectual circles to which he aspired.[685] Pascoli was the first biographer to report that Danti and Varchi shared an affectionate, almost familial friendship, but he was writing nearly two hundred years later.[686] In his dissertation, David Summers drew close connections between the two men to suggest that Varchi had ushered Danti into the ranks of the Accademia Fiorentina in 1565, just prior to the poet's death in December of that same year.[687] In his 1568 edition of *Le Vite*, Vasari wrote that

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[684] For example, Laura Battifera began her 1560 *Il primo libro delle opere toscane* with sonnets to Duchess Eleonora, to Duke Cosimo, to the Duke of Urbino and his wife, and to King Phillip II of Spain. Laura Battiferra degli Ammannati, *Il primo libro delle opere toscane* (Florence: Giunti, 1560), 9-13. She also addressed *proposte* to Cellini, 75, and Bronzino, 69-71, 82 each of whom responded with a sonnet, to her husband, Bartolomeo Ammannati, 86-87, and to the the Florentine poets, Varchi, 54, 63, il Lasca, 57, and in memory of Luca Martini, 120.

[685] Reilly has similarly used the social connections of Alessandro Allori to track his social and professional standing in Florence. See Reilly, "Grand Designs," 90.

[686] Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti perugini*, 139, in his life of Danti: "...Benedetto Varchi, con cui stretta aveva famigliare, e forte amicizia".

[687] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 221-223; Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, 23-24. For a careful tracing of Danti's language and theories to Varchi's writings, see endnotes to his treatise by Paola Barrocchi, *Trattati d'arte del cinquecento, fra manierismo e Controriforma* (Bari: Gius. Laterza, 1960) 1:494-525.

Danti was then creating a beautiful relief portrait of Varchi and that he had moved into Varchi's former rooms in the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli:

> He works on these works together with other ones in the monastery of the Angeli in Florence, where he stays quietly in the company of those monks, his close friends, in the rooms that once held messer Benedetto Varchi, of whom Vincenzo is making a portrait in low relief that will be most beautiful. [688]

Historians have used this account by Vasari to buttress Pascoli's assertion that close personal ties connected the writer and the sculptor, even though Vasari knew both men and mentioned no particular familiarity between them. Their *tenzone* exchange in Varchi's *Sonetti spirituali* attests, at the very least, to their acquaintance before Varchi's death in 1565. Unfortunately, the relief portrait that Danti created of Varchi, described by Vasari, has been lost. Charles Davis has suggested that Danti's large marble *Madonna and Child* sculpture (Fig. 30), currently in the Baroncelli Chapel in Santa Croce, may have been created as part of a tomb project for Varchi, designed by Vasari and begun by Danti.[689] No contemporary documents have been discovered that link this sculpture to any such commission, but large size of this *Madonna and Child* indicates that it was intended for a prominent project.[690] In his exploration of this theoretical tomb commission, Davis traced some of the friendships shared by Danti and Varchi to explain why Danti may have been chosen to create a tomb for the Florentine writer. In addition to Varchi's

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[688] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:633: "Le quali opere lavora insieme con altre nel monasterio degli Angeli di Firenze, dove si sta quietamente in compagnia di que' monaci suoi amicissimi, nelle stanze che già quivi tenne messer Benedetto Varchi, di cui fa esso Vincenzo un ritratto di bassorilievo, che sarà belissimo."
[689] Charles Davis, "La Madonna del Monasterio degli Angeli: Danti e l'ambiente intorno a Benedetto Varchi tra la quiete fraterna a la stanza dei 'sonetti spirituali'," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 165-203.

[690] The sculpture is over two meters tall. Vasari mentioned the *Madonna and Child* in his vita of Danti as one of the works underway in Varchi's rooms at Santa Maria degli Angeli, but he did not specify the intended location or monument for which Danti was creating the sculpture. See Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 402-404.

general interest in the visual arts, he had also composed sonnets to Cellini as well as to Danti's closest allies in Florence, Sforza Almeni, Borghini, and Vasari.[691] If not close friends themselves, Danti and Varchi shared a network of Florentine alliegiances.

The preparations for Varchi's funeral in the summer of 1566 indicate that Danti operated at the center of the literary and artistic network he had shared with Varchi. An account of the funeral that the Accademia Fiorentina organized for Varchi in July 1566 listed Don Silvano Razzi as the patron of a marble portrait of Varchi over which these ceremonies were conducted.[692] Razzi, a camaldolese friar, had invited Varchi to use some of the rooms in the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli and was "amico e discepolo di Varchi."[693] Razzi was later the testator of Varchi's will.[694] Davis pulled this evidence together to suggest that the marble portrait Razzi commissioned was the same one that Vasari had described Danti carving in the space of the same rooms that Varchi once used in Razzi's convent.[695] Davis further proposed that the *Madonna and Child* sculpture and the relief portrait mentioned by Vasari could have been combined in a tomb for Varchi with elements similar to the Carlo de' Medici monument that Danti had created in Prato (Fig. 15).

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[691] Varchi, *Opere*, 2:881 and 920 (to Almeni), 983 (to Borghini), 992 (to Vasari).

[692] Davis, "La 'Madonna del Monasterio degl'Angeli'," 169.

[693] Razzi, "Vita di Messer Benedetto Varchi," 1:18-19; Davis, "La 'Madonna del Monasterio degl'Angeli'," 168-170. Davis described Razzi's friendship with Vincenzo Borghini, whose oversight of the Ospedale degli Innocenti made him neighbor to Razzi at the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli, as well as with Vasari, whom Razzi assisted with the 1568 Vite revisions. Razzi also collected art objects which he kept in his rooms at Santa Maria degli Angeli, including a relief sculpture by Vincenzo de' Rossi.

[694] Davis, "La 'Madonna del Monasterio degl'Angeli'," 168.

[695] I find Davis's suggestion that the Baroncelli Madonna comprised a central figure of a tomb project for Varchi persuasive, but the large size of the marble sculpture (207 cm tall) raises important questions, such as how such a block was obtained and what was the source of funds for such a commission, that require further research.

The members of the Accademia Fiorentina who planned the esequies for Varchi also drew connections between Danti and Varchi. While working on the funeral oration, Leonardo Salviati, a pupil of Varchi, wrote to Annibal Caro, the famous Roman poet. Caro had been a friend to Varchi, as well as to Vasari and to Laura Battiferra, and Salviati sought his input on the oration for Varchi.[696] Caro responded from Rome, and mentioned the Danti brothers in this correspondence. In this letter of 20 April 1566, Caro thanked Salviati for several things: "the two Danti brothers, a St. Jerome by the prioress Plautilla Nelli, and the medal of our Varchi," and for Salviati's words of affection.[697] The letter indicates that the Danti brothers had gone to Rome during the spring of 1566. Caro wrote to Salviati to thank him for introducing him to these two brothers, "whom I know to be loved and celebrated by you."[698] The brothers, whom Caro described as so loved by Salviati, may delivered to Caro the medal of Varchi mentioned in the letter as having been sent from Florence by Salviati.[699] Such a medal may have closely approximated Danti's relief portrait of Varchi that Vasari had described and that Vincenzo must have had underway by mid-spring 1566.[700]

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[696] On Salviati's oration: Silvano Razzi, "Vita di Messer Benedetto Varchi" in *Storia Fiorentina di Benedetto Varchi* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1857) 1:4.

[697] Anton Federigo Seghezzi, ed., *Delle lettere familiari del commendatore Annibal Caro* (Bologna: Fratelli Masi e Comp., 1820), 5:64-65 (doc 462, April 10, 1566): "i due fratelli Danti, il San Jeronimo i suora Plautilla, e la medaglia del nostro Varchi..." See also Davis, "La 'Madonna del Monasterio degl'Angeli'," 169.

[698] Seghezzi-Caro, *Lettere familiari*, 5:64: "l'esser amati, e celebrati da voi." Caro admitted that he had met Egnazio previously, but that he enjoyed meeting Vincenzo this first time.

[699] On this medal, Philip Attwood, *Italian Medals c. 1530-1600 in British Public Collections* (London: British Museum, 2003), 1:344, n. 817.

[700] Caro's gratitude for knowing the brothers may have reference an in-person meeting with Egnazio and an acquaintance with Vincenzo via his work. 1566 was a busy year for Vincenzo. In that spring, if he had been commissioned to make Varchi's tomb, he must have created the marble relief between mid December and the July funeral. Sforza Almeni had been killed in May and the Danti family had brought the Arringatore to Florence by September. Vincenzo also finished the *Equity* and *Rigor* statues for the Uffizi that same

Plautilla Nelli, also mentioned in Caro's letter, was an active Florentine painter who was also connected to Danti. They had shared a commission in Perugia in 1555. Nelli created an altarpiece of the *Pentacost* for the Guglielmo Pontano chapel, which is still extant in the church of San Domenico in Perugia. Vincenzo Danti had created a recumbent portrait of Pontano (Fig. 31) for that same chapel, along with other sculptures which are now lost.[701] Nelli was also a prioress of the Dominican convent of Santa Caterina da Siena in Florence. In addition to her ties to Danti and her painting of St. Jerome created for Caro, Nelli was connected to Varchi's circle through a fellow Domenican nun, Suor Maria Angelica Razzi, who was a sculptor and biological sister to Don Silvano Razzi.[702]

Thus, even in the absence of the relief portrait, which would have been a physical link between Danti and Varchi, the two men clearly shared a network of friendships and patronage connections in Florence, at least during the last year of Varchi's life. These ties between them begin to indicate the networks in which Danti moved as a poet.

Varchi's connections with other artists in Florence shed light on Danti's position within this Florentine network of literary friendships. Varchi cultivated friendships with artists and mentored those who were poets.[703] He famously delivered two public lectures on the

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summer, and he was in the process of finishing his treatise on proportion for its 1567 publication. A trip to Rome to pay respects to Annibale Caro, while an enticing opportunity to expand his literary network, seems beyond what Danti's schedule would have allowed.

[701] For Danti's work on the Guglielmo Pontano chapel, including the reclining effigy of Pontano still housed in the church of San Domenico in Perugia, see Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti*, 71-72; Santi, Vincenzo Danti, 65; Summers, "The Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 352-355.

[702] Davis, "La 'Madonna del Monasterio degl'Angeli'," 169-170.

[703] Of course, Varchi was not alone in his intellectual brokerage of artists. Razzi's vita of Varchi described the friendship that Varchi and Luca Martini shared with "pittori, scultori ed altri si fatti nobili artefici." Silvano Razzi, "Vita di Messer Benedetto Varchi," 1:13. For Martini and artists, see especially Jonathan Nelson, "Creative Patronage: Luca Martini and the Renaissance Portrait," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 39 (1995): 282-305; Samuels, "Benedetto Varchi, the Accademia

visual arts for the Accademia Fiorentina in 1547, the same year that practicing visual artists had been expelled from the academy. The Torrentino press published these lectures in 1550, the same year in which it issued Vasari's first edition of *The Lives of the Artists* and two translations of Aristotelian texts. All of these texts contributed to the mission of both court and academy to establish Florence as a cultural capital.[704] Usually referred to as the *Due Lezzioni*, the printed version included both of Varchi's 1547 lectures on the arts, one on Michelangelo's sonnet "Non ha l'ottima artista alcun concetto" and the second on the *paragone* of painting and sculpture.[705] The publication also included prose responses by practicing artists about the superiority of either painting or sculpture.[706] The eight contributing artists were all Florentine, with the exception of Vasari. All of them but Vasari had also been members of the Accademia Fiorentina prior

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degli Infiammati and the Origins of the Italian Accademic Movement," *Renaissance Quarterly* 29 (1976): 625-7; Heikamp, "Rapporti fra accademici ed artisti," 147; Gaston, "Iconography and Portraiture," 64-65; Kirkham, *Laura Battiferra*, 29-44; Alessandro Cecchi, "Il Bronzino, Benedetto Varchi e L'Accademia Fiorentina: ritratti di poeti, letterati e personaggi illustri della corte medicea," *Antichità viva* 30 (1991): 18-21. Laura Battiferra represents another intellectual patron of artists in Florence, through connections to artistic circles via her husband, Bartolommeo Ammannati, and through her own literary friendships with Varchi, Razzi, and Martini, see Victoria Kirkham, "Creative Partners: The Marriage of Laura Battifera and Bartolomeo Ammannati," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002): 498-558. Varchi's theories were later adapted and reused by both Vasari and Danti. Given his status as a preeminent academician, Varchi's assistance probably would have been more valuable to Danti than help offered by any other literary figure in Florence, as the Perugian attempted to establish a literary persona.

[704] Mendelsohn, *Paragoni*, 7, 194 n34; Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 66.

[705] Mendelsohn, *Paragoni*, 3; Benedetto Varchi, *Dve lezzioni di M. Benedetto Varchi, nella prima delle quali si dichiara un Sonetto di M. Michelagnolo Buonarroti. Nella seconda si disputa quale sia la piu nobile arte la Scultura, o la Pittura, con una lettera d'esso Michelagnolo, & piu altri Eccellentissimi Pittori et Scultori, sopra la Quistione sopradetta* (Florence: Torrentino, 1550). The second lecture begins, 56. Artists' responses begin, 120.

[706] The artists were Bronzino, Pontormo, Vasari, del Tasso, Francesco da Sangallo, Tribolo, Cellini, and Michelangelo. See Ben Thomas, "'Artefici' and 'huomini intendenti': questions of artistic value in sixteenth-century Italy," in *Revaluing Renaissance Art*, ed. Gabriele Neher and Rupert Shepherd (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 45-52.

to its 1547 reorganization.[707] Consistent with the aims of that academy, both Varchi and his respondents wrote in Tuscan vernacular. For the artists, the rhetorical *paragone* had little to offer their actual practice of art making.[708] Danti could look to this earlier generation of artist-authors as he shaped his own aspirational persona in Florence, even though most of these predecessors were never published in print beyond these letters.

Varchi continued to engage with artists and with questions about artistic philosophy, even following the expulsion of these artists from the Accademia Fiorentina. He attended dinners at Bronzino's house with some frequency, a habit later recorded by Alessandro Allori, and guided his study of classical and trecento poets.[709] As described above, he also served as literary advisor to Cellini.[710] Varchi crossed the boundaries of artistic cliques in Florence to call Cellini's rival, Vasari, "mio amicissimo."[711] Michelangelo also corresponded with Varchi. In 1564, Varchi delivered the oration at Michelangelo's funeral, an event coordinated by the recently founded Accademia del Disegno.[712] Although it is unlikely that Danti and Varchi were in close contact during the

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[707] For the artists who joined the academy, Heikamp, "Rapporti fra accademici ed artisti," 141. That Vasari was the exceptional case is surprising only because he was not practicing in Florence at the time that Varchi asked for his participation, but was in Rome, serving the Del Monte family. Alice Kramer, letter on "Vasari's Rhetoric," *Art Bulletin* 74 (1992): 522, on Vasari's hope that this first edition would be sponsored by the Del Monte, and Cosimo as Vasari's second choice. See also Alice Kramer, "Vasari on Painting: The Critical Content of the 'Lives,'" Ph.D. Columbia University, 1991, 40-41, 96-97.

[708] Thomas, "'Artefici' and 'Intendenti'," 46.

[709] Cecchi, "Bronzino, Varchi, e l'Accademia Fiorentina," 18; Reilly, "Grand Designs," 60; Robert Gaston, "Love's Sweet Poison: A New Reading of Bronzino's London Allegory," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 4 (1991): 259, 267-268.

[710] For Cellini, see also Heikamp, "Rapporti fra accademici ed artisti," 144-145; Mendelsohn, *Paragoni*, 32; Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini*, 9; Reilly, "Drawing the Line," 30.

[711] Varchi, *Due Lezzioni*, 92, cited in Quiviger, "Varchi and the Visual Arts," 224. See also Pirotti, Benedetto Varchi, 257 n2.

[712] Summers, Michelangelo and the Language of Art, 23.

planning stages for that funeral, the ceremonies in the basilica of San Lorenzo visually linked the two of them. Vincenzo Danti's painting of *Honor over Fame and Death* was mounted across the nave from the pulpit from which Varchi delivered his oration.[713] The year between Michelangelo's funeral and Varchi's own marked a transition in Danti's status; he shifted from being listed among the "young" artists to being a central member of the corps of court artists.[714] Even during such a busy year, Danti composed enough vernacular text that he was admitted to the Accademia Fiorentina in September 1565, just three months before Varchi died. Danti was the first artist born outside Tuscany to be admitted to this academy.

Varchi has been more often associated with this older generation of Medici artists due to his connections to Vasari, Bronzino, and Cellini, but he continued to support budding artist-poets such as Danti throughout his life. In his *Sonnetti spirituali*, Varchi had addressed *proposta* sonnets not only to Bronzino, Cellini, and Vasari, but also to Danti and to Domenico Poggini.[715] Bartolomeo Ammannati and his poet-wife Laura Battiferra also relocated to Florence in 1555. They participated in this same circle of artists and poets. In Victoria Kirkham's exploration of their strong partnership, she described Ammannati as

> belong[ing] like his early master Bandinelli and his colleague Vasari to that Renaissance circle who redefined the artist's professional identity, elevating it from the status of a manual and mental activity, from the

[713] For a listener in the nave, Varchi and the 4-braccia painting would have been pendants across the aisle from one another. Wittkower and Wittkower, The Divine Michelangelo, 121-122, 152.

[714] See Chapter 2. Between 1564 and 1565, Danti held two elected positions in the Accademia del Disegno, as consul and chamberlain. He completed the Carlo de' Medici tomb, his first marble commission for the Medici, and he received and began the commission for marble figures for the Uffizi facade.

[715] Varchi, *Sonnetti spirituali*: *proposta* to Bronzino, 46, response, 92; *proposta* to Cellini, 45, response, 91; *proposta* to Vasari 46, with two responses, 92-93; *proposta* to Domenico Poggini, 47, response, 94.

> mechanical to the liberal arts. In this new conception, Art can be the peer of Poetry. An artist can marry a poet.[716]

Ammannati never published as a poet or author but soon rose to prominence in Florence, acting as an overseer to some of Duke Cosimo's most visible commissions.[717]

In his *Sonetti spirituali*, Varchi addressed sonnets to both Ammannati and Battiferra.[718] Luca Martini and Sforza Almeni both supported Battiferra's career during her early years in Florence.[719] The combination of her connection with Almeni and Vasari's brokerage of Ammannati's career strongly suggests that Danti would have had contact with Battiferra, Ammannati, and their circle via their shared brokerage.[720] Cellini also wrote to Varchi of his approval of Battiferra, and he exchanged sonnets with her.[721] Ammannati eventually became a member of the Accademia Fiorentina in 1567. Battiferra had addressed three sonnets to Varchi in her *Primo libro delle opere toscane*, which also includes his *risposte*.[722] Thus, this wide network of connections connections converged

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[716] Kirkham, "Creative Partners," 505.

[717] For Ammannati, see Cole, *Ambitious Form*; Felicia Else, "'La Maggior Porcheria Del Mondo': Documents for Ammannati's Neptune Fountain," *Burlington Magazine* 147 (2005): 487-491; Emanuela Ferretti, "Bartolomeo Ammannati, La Fontana di Sala Grande, e le trasformazioni del Salone dei Cinquecento da Cosimo I a Ferdinando I," in *L'acqua, la pietra, il fuoco: Bartolomeo Ammannati scultore*, ed. Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi and Dimitrios Zikos (Florence: Giunti, 2011), 137-149; Luigi Zangheri, "I Marmi dell'Ammannati," in *Bartolomeo Ammannati scultore e architetto 1511-1592* (Florence: Alinea, 1995), 321-327.

[718] Varchi, *Sonnetti spirituali*: to Ammannati, 45; to Battiferra, 36, and her response, 89.

[719] Kirkham, *Laura Battiferra*, 22.

[720] Cecchi, "Giorgio e Bartolomeo: Un'amicizia lunga una vita al servizio del duca," in *Ammannati e Vasari per la città dei Medici*, ed. Cristina Acidini and Giacomo Pirazzoli (Florence: Polistampa and Banca CR Firenze, 2011), 31-33. For Vasari's brokerage of Ammannati's career, Anne Proctor, "Vasari's Clients at Court: Brokering Bartolomeo Ammannati and Vincenzo Danti," paper delivered at Italian Renaissance Sculpture Conference (Provo/Athens), Lawrence, KS, November 10, 2012.

[721] Kirkham, *Laura Battiferra*, 22.

[722] Battiferra, *Primo libro delle opere toscane*, 54-5, 63. His risposta sonnets each appear on the same page as her proposta. The circle of correspondence poems in this text overlaps closely with current and former

through or emanated from Varchi.[723] Whether the artists' ties to Varchi contributed to their literary success or whether their literary success led to contact with him, Varchi was the leading figure of the Accademia Fiorentina to bring these two circles of court servants into direct contact. Given Varchi's propensity to encourage literary performance among artists and Danti's literary success in the last year of Varchi's life, Danti may have been one of the elder writer's last protégés.

DANTI'S *CAPITOLO CONTRO L'ALCHIMIA*: COURT DISCOURSE AND ALCHEMY

Danti's poetic performance at court extended beyond the Petarchan sonnet and specific social relationships. He also wrote the *Capitolo contro l'alchimia*, preserved in two scribal sources, which demonstrates his willingness to play with humor, language, and popular topics at court.[724] The Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence houses two versions of this lengthy poem. One, previously unpublished, appears in a manuscript compilation of sixteenth-century poetry.[725] The second version, previously published by Summers and

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members of the Umidi, including il Lasca and Bronzino, and prominent poets across the peninsula, such as Annibal Caro.

[723] Giambattista Gelli and Niccolò Martelli also delivered public lectures on the arts for the Accademia Fiorentina. See Quiviger, "Varchi and the Visual Arts," 220 n8. Varchi is the most high-profile literary figure who addressed Danti directly, and he was the only one still living when Danti seems to have been mounting his campaign to participate in the literary circles. (Gelli d. 1563, and Martelli d. 1555.)

[724] David Summers was first to publish this poem, transcribed from BCNF Codice Palatino 264 (old numbering: 35. E, 5, 2, 39), itself a seventeenth century transcription. Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 508-12. Louis Waldman located another transcription of the *capitolo* in BCNF Codice Magliabechiano. This Magliabecchiano transcription appears in a sixteenth-century compilation of poetry, which Waldman believes may be by the hand of Antonio da San Gallo the elder, per conversation 16 October 2012.

[725] Sixteenth-century version: BCNF Magliabechiano Cl. VII, 877, f. 35v--.

revised by Elena Nicolai, is included in a seventeenth-century manuscript that contains prose and poetry by various authors.[726]

In his *capitolo*, a satirical poem in *terza rima*, Danti reported that his study of alchemy had bankrupted him and ruined his life. Suzanne Brown Butters has interpreted the poem as an honest account of Danti's experience with alchemical studies.[727] However, such an indictment of alchemy would represent a shockingly straightforward attack on a field of study that was a pet project of the princes Danti served. As a denunciation of that discipline, the poem could have risked Danti's professional role as servant to Duke Cosimo and to Prince Francesco, who were both engaged in the study of alchemy.[728] More likely, this poem represents both Danti's savvy engagement with a topic of ongoing conversation in court circles and a careful effort to obfuscate his actual position on the issue. Described in its title as a *capitolo*, the poem's very form professes its satircal content.[729]

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[726] Both versions are 151 lines long. Every third line of both versions align, and otherwise the two differ primarily in the word order of certain lines or in the use of synonyms to convey similar ideas. The seventeenth-century version included in BCNF Codice Palatino 264 (old numbering: 35. E, 5, 2, 39), XXIII, f. 76r-78r. For published editions of the Codice Palatino version, see Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 509-512. Subsequent authors who have discussed the capitolo cite Summers' transcription: Elena Nicolai, "Un caso di petrarchismo alchemico: Vincenzo Danti scultore," *Amaltea Trimestrale di cultura* 7 (2012): 10-18; Butters, *Triumph of Vulcan*, 1:241; Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 181. Because all previous scholarship has focused on this Palatino version of the *capitolo*, it will also be the main version presented here. Also, a careful transcription of the Magliabechiano version is required for further discussion of its slight differences in content and syntax. Neither version includes a dedication; therefore, at this point, the capitolo cannot be claimed to address a specific person.

[727] Suzanne Brown Butters, *The Triumph of Vulcan: Sculptors' Tools, Porphyry, and the Prince in Ducal Florence*, I Tatti Series 11 (Florence: Olschki, 1996), 1:241-45.

[728] Butters, *Triumph of Vulcan*, 241-48; Luciano Berti, *Il Principe del Studiolo: Francesco I dei Medici e la fine del Rinascimento fiorentino* (Florence: Edam, 1967), 51-59; Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 168.

[729] Parker, *Painter as Poet*, 14.

Danti had contact with the scientists, poets and philosophers at the Medici court who discussed the practical and philosophical uses of alchemical study. Benedetto Varchi composed a treatise on the veracity of alchemical pursuits in 1544 that has been shown to derive, in part, from earlier sixteenth-century commentators on Aristotle who emphasized alchemy.[730] Varchi reached no conclusion about the possibility of creating a functional philosopher's stone, but noted that in the conversion of one substance to another, in cases such as glass and gunpowder, "there was something alchemical."[731] Lionel Devlieger has argued that Varchi's interest in alchemy reflects the popularity of alchemical theory and practice at the Medici court. He linked Varchi's theoretical discussions of alchemy to the interests of the princes.[732] Varchi and Duke Cosimo apparently conversed about alchemy, and Varchi read portions of his treatise on alchemy to the duke.[733] Cosimo himself practiced alchemy. He also cultivated the study of the botanical, chemical, and philosophical sciences at the University of Pisa, and he constructed foundries in Florence for the distillation of chemicals and the production of pharmaceuticals.[734] Whether or not Danti practiced alchemy for sixteen years, as claimed in the *capitolo*, his desire to write about alchemical practice fits neatly into ongoing court dialogue about the veracity and

[730] Varchi's treatise was not published in print until the nineteenth century: Benedetto Varchi, *Questione sull'Alchimia* (Florence: Stamperia Magheri, 1827). For Varchi's sources, Craig Martin, "Alchemy and the Renaissance Commentary Tradition on Meteorologica IV" *I Tatti Studies* 51 (2004): 248, 253 n 40. See also Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 40, 176-187.

[731] Butters, *Triumph of Vulcan*, 1:243; Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 184-85.

[732] Devlieger has shown that those Medici pursuits that cast them as discoverers and healers were also an important program of statecraft. See Devliever, "Benedetto Varchi," 158-168.

[733] Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 155.

[734] Butters, *Triumph of Vulcan*, 1:243-49.

worthiness of alchemical study.[735] If it were a genuine condemnation of alchemy, Danti's *capitolo* would have strained the relationships that Danti had cultivated with his princely patrons and through his participation in the Accademia Fiorentina.

Danti contributed to the decoration of the Studiolo of Francesco de Medici, the space that has been most identified with Francesco's interests. Alchemical themes appear throughout the program, and Francesco is known to have studied alchemy. His elder brother Giovanni had already warned Francesco in 1560, "do not indulge too much in the pleasure of the foundry."[736] As Francesco was coming into his own as a ruler and patron, the prince commissioned the design of a private study adjacent to the Salone dei Cinquecento.[737] Danti probably never entered the space but merely submitted his contribution to Vasari who, with Borghini, installed Danti's bronze statuette of *Venus Anadyomene* on the "water" wall.[738] Beyond the logistics of planning and execution, however, the program of this room gives evidence of Francesco's interest in alchemical practice.[739] Larry Feinberg defined the purpose of the Studiolo as an organizational storage space for scientific and natural objects, adorned with a decorative program that

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[735] Paolo Zambelli, "Introduzione: Astrologia magia e alchimia nel Rinascimento fiorentino ed europeo," in *La corte, il mare, i mercanti* (Florence: Centro Di, Edizioni Alinari and Scala, 1980), 314 and 324, for the alchemical interests of other members of the Medici family.

[736] Cited in Berti, *Principe dello Studiolo*, 51: "non si profonder troppo nel piacer della Fondoria."

[737] For Danti's participation in the group project to execute the Studiolo according to Vasari and Borghini's designs, see Chapter Three.

[738] Karen Victoria Edwards, "Rethinking the Installation of the Studiolo of Francesco I in Palazzo Vecchio (Ph.D. Diss: Case Western Reserve, 2007), 32-33; Larry J. Feinberg, "The Studiolo of Prince Francesco I Reconsidered," in *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the art of Late Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 50-56; Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 417-418.

[739] Feinberg, in particular, reads the iconography of the room in this way. See also Schaefer and Edwards' dissertations.

explored the interactions of nature and art.[740] Scott Schaefer and Karen Edwards have shown that the room was used for study of the natural world as well as for the storage of its wonders.[741] The mythological program of the room explores the very themes that we encounter in Danti's *capitolo*: natural elements and their transformation into other substances. Jan van der Straet's painting, *Francesco I in his Alchemy Laboratory*, depicts the prince engaged in the act of studying alchemy under the tutelage of a bespectacled *maestro*.[742] The roles of student and teacher also appear in Danti's poem, in his description of on his own introduction to alchemy.[743] Larry Feinberg has described the decorative program of the prince's study room as

> no less an extension of the self, a projection of his identity, than the figure of Promethus at the center of its ceiling to whose role as consummate creator and inventor Francesco earnestly aspired.[744]

As an aspirational Prometheus who dabbled in chemical, medical, astronomical, and alchemical sciences, Prince Francesco would hardly have been a receptive audience for Danti's poem if its condemnation of alchemical study had been sincere. Given the thematic alignment of this poem with Francesco's recreational activities, the satirical *capitolo* may have functioned as a gift to amuse the prince, whose oversight of court commissions steadily grew through the late 1560s.[745] Francesco eventually consolidated

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[740] Feinberg, "Studiolo Reconsidered," 47.

[741] Edwards, "Rethinking the Studiolo," 40, 79-80, 103-104, 118-122.

[742] Berti, *Il Principe dello Studiolo*, 58; Schaefer diss, 414-418.

[743] Lines 43-50: "Nacque il principio del mio mal da un frate,/ ch'era in quest'arte per sin' alla gola,/ e parve mi mirabil' vanitate./ Dietro al convento una Stanzotta sola/ aveva, et ivi menommi il buon padre/ dicendomi di ciò non far' parola./ Com'io fui dentro disse: Ecco la madre/ dell'Arte..."

[744] Feinberg, "Studiolo Reconsidered," 62.

[745] Knowing the exact history of when Danti composed the poem and with whom he shared it might allow us to connect it to applications for specific commissions, but without those dates we can only read it as an

the various laboratories scattered throughout the city into one in the Casino di San Marco, founded 1574.[746]

Danti's *capitolo contro l'alchimia* once again showcases his determination to participate in court discourse, via the alchemical content that would appeal to his prince and a burlesque take Petrarchan verse that would appeal to fellow poets. Written in *terza rima*, every third verse of the *capitolo* comes from the works of Petrarch, either from the *Triomfi* or the *Canzoniere*.[747] These borrowed lines confirm Borghini's report that Danti composed centos, new poems that weave together lines written by previous poets.[748] Not all such reliance on Petrarchan paradigms was intended to honor or to emulate the *trecento* poet. In the early *cinquecento*, Francesco Berni had satirized Petrarch by creating sonnets that parodied Petrarchan *topoi*, such as themes of love and the cruelty of lovers.[749] Margaret Gallucci has noted that Cellini even further violated the traditions of Petrarchan verse in the sonnets he wrote. Cellini not only mocked traditional subject matter, but also included "language which is downright coarse and vulgar."[750] Other artists had produced satirical *capitoli* in the decades prior to Danti's poem on alchemy. Bronzino penned *terza rima* to create *capitoli* in praise of vegetables and tools that metaphorically represented sex and genitalia.[751] In 1555, two of Bronzino's satirical

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effort to remind the prince that Danti recognized and shared his interests. Other authors had dedicated their writings on alchemy to Cosimo, see Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi on the Birth of Artefacts," 194.

[746] Feinberg, "Studiolo Reconsidered," 47.

[747] Nicolai, "Un caso di petrarchismo alchemico," 10-18.

[748] Borghini, *Il Riposo*, 522.

[749] Gallucci, "A New Look," 351.

[750] Ibid., 351.

[751] Such as the "Capitolo del ravanello," which praises the radish (penis), and "La padella del Bronzino pittore," which "celebrates the indispensability of the frying pan" (buttocks). Parker, "Bronzino's

capitoli, *Contro a le campane* ("Against bells") and *In lode delle zanzare* ("In praise of mosquitos"), were included in an anthology of Florentine burlesque poetry.[752] In turning verses by Petrarch to satirical ends, Danti demonstrated both his knowledge of the *trecento* tradition so revered by the Accademia Fiorentina and also his ability to create parodic parallels between the pursuit of love and the study of alchemy. Danti's *capitolo* on alchemy, in its forthright subject matter yet probably satirical content, adjusts our understanding of Danti as an accomplished but well behaved participant in court culture to indicate his willingness to enter court debates and to play with ribald subject matter.

On its surface, Danti's discussion of alchemy in the *capitolo* reads as a sincere moan of despair about the complicated troubles he encountered in his pursuit of alchemy. This hopeless language and Danti's inclusion of details about how his life was ruined by alchemy are so believable as to have led previous authors to overlook the satirical content of the poem.[753] At this surface level, the *Capitolo contro l'alchimia* describes the devastating effects of alchemical study on Danti's life. Having been lured to the study of alchemy by a mysterious friar who kept a solitary room behind a monastery, Danti became increasingly obsessed with the furnace and the pursuit of wealth via the transformation of metals.[754] Danti claimed that his study of alchemy had begun sixteen

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Burlesque Poetry," 1027 on "La padella," 1011-1040 on Bronzino's use of satire and its derivation from the traditions of both *trecento* poetry and early *cinquecento* burlesque. Also, Gallucci, "A New Look," 354.

[752] Although the editor of this anthology is unknown, the first volume was published 1548 and was edited by Antonfrancesco Grazzini, one of the Umidi known for his own burlesque poems. Parker, "Bronzino's Burlesque Poetry," 1017-1018.

[753] Nicolai, "Un caso di petrarchismo alchemico," 11; Butters, *Triumph of Vulcan*, 1:241; Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 181.

[754] For the friar, Line 44: "Nacque il principio del mio mal da un frate:" "The beginning of my evil was born from a priest/friar." For his goals, Line 37: "E pensai d'arrichir', ma non fu vero:" I would think to become rich, but it was not true."

years prior to when he wrote the *capitolo*.[755] Since that time, the pursuit had consumed his life, Danti claimed, to the extent that he had gone so deeply into debt that he stood before the Bargello judges six times in one year.[756] The poem also reports that he had traveled widely to learn alchemical secrets.[757] He framed the entire poem as a cautionary lesson to those who read it, warning them to avoid the path he had taken, as it would "age you," and lead to the "perpetual damnation" that Danti himself faced.[758] References to alchemical knowledge are scattered throughout the *capitolo*. Danti mentioned furnaces, the refining of gold and silver, the rounded triangles (like beakers) that were heated on the furnace to distill substances, Vulcan as the first alchemist, and Albertus Magnus, to whom many treatises on alchemy had been attributed.[759] His ostensible take-away message was that alchemy not only would destroy one's material life, in the form of bankruptcy, and one's soul, but also that alchemy led to those consequences because it was a pursuit that ran counter to nature.

Art works in service of Nature such that the artist studies nature and, responding to it, perfects the human form as nature intends, according to the Danti's prose *Treatise*

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[755] Lines 32-33: "dal tempo che tal laccio mi prese/ rimane 'ndietro il sestodecim'anno:" from the time that such snare took me remains sixteen years in the past."

[756] Lines 79-80: "Sei volte son' per debito questo anno/ stato fra Birri"

[757] Line 106-108: "Ancora gl'anni, non che giorni e mesi,/ per dimandar segreti a chi distilla/ cercar m'han fatto diversi paesi:" Even more the years, non even days and months, to look to those who distill for the secrets they made me search many different places"

[758] Lines 112-113: "Deh, fugga ognun' quest'arte, e faccia prima:/che vi s'invecchi:" "Then everyone flee this art, and do it soon: that it will age you." Lines 29-30: "il mio perpetua Danno,/ tal'or'vi muova, e con pieta guardate:" "[let] my perpetual damnation move you now, and listen with pity."

[759] Ludovica Sebregondi, "Introduction," in *Il Ricettario Medici: Alchimia, farmacopea, cosmesi, e tecnica artistica nella Firenze del Seicento*, ed. Antonio Torresi (Ferrara: Liberty House, 2004), 13-15. For Danti's references to furnaces and rounded triangles, lines 50-51; gold and silver, 61, 88-91; Vulcan, 105; Albertus Magnus, 95.

on Perfect Proportion, published 1567. The *capitolo* flips this relationship between humans and natural study to warn against alchemical practice. In the poem, Danti claimed that the danger of alchemy lies in its intent to use human artifice to surpass or manipulate Nature: "what nature does not want, one should not do"[760] and "above all to obey Nature in everything is better."[761] Metallurgy, a theme that also appears in Cellini's writings and visual works,[762] unites Danti's activities: his training as a goldsmith, his work in bronze-casting, and this purported study of alchemy. Danti's training as a goldsmith and his experience in the ducal quarries contributed to his knowledge of the "veins of gold and silver" in which metals are found in nature. These dueling forces of art and nature pervade both the philosophical discourse of the *letterati* at Cosimo's court and Danti's own writings in prose and verse. Danti need not have been a practicing alchemist to be well versed in such arguments. Indeed, the *capitolo* includes no details about alchemical practice that could not be learned from passing conversations.[763]

Beyond its title, which labels its very form as part of the satirical tradition, Danti's condemnation of those who pursue alchemical studies is the clearest sign that we should hesitate to interpret this *capitolo* at face value. Specifically, he indicts rulers: "in the course of such errors, I see, along with the idiot people, very great people, Popes, Kings,

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[760] Line 93: "cha natura non vuol', ne si conviene." From Petrarch, RVF 350, v. 5: Nicolai, "Un caso di petrarchismo alchemico," 16, n35.

[761] Lines 122-123: "sopr' ogn'altra cosa/ obbedir a Natura in tutto è meglio." That these claims seem to run counter to his art-theoretical writings need not overly trouble readers, however, as recent studies of Varchi have shown that Aristotelian philosophies stumped even the most prolific cinquecento writers to reconcile divergent views on the rules of nature.

[762] Michael Cole, "Cellini's Blood," *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999): 219-226.

[763] For instance, Danti's *capitolo* includes no references to specific alchemical materials or recipes as in Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 193-194; Butters, *Triumph of Vulcan*, 1:244.

and Emperors."[764] From creating sculptures for ducal monuments to his participation in the increasingly state-focused Accademia Fiorentina, Danti was well versed in the politics of court culture. His activities, stylistic choices, and the relationships he cultivated all reveal his dedication to participating in court circles and to pleasing his Florentine patrons. Thus, the absurd declaration that such rulers might be as misguided as "idiot people" indicates that we should read this poem as a jest. The poem circulated widely enough to have been recorded at least twice during the next century, and it appeared not in anti-Medicean texts but general collections of poetic works. A straightforward reading of the words, however, clearly protects Danti from any political or religious fallout that might accompany a direct endorsement of alchemical experiments. As Danti composed and circulated this poem, he engaged in the kind of dialogue encouraged by the academies of art and literature founded by Cosimo.

Danti's use of Petrarchan verse in this *capitolo* also conforms to sixteenth-century practice of playfully or critically adapting the poetic tropes of the *trecento* master. As Berni, Bronzino, Cellini, and others had done before him, Danti reused Petrarchan topos of the "*donna crudel*," who both seduces and torments while remaining inaccessible to those who reach for her, but in this case Danti facetiously described his obsession with alchemy rather than with a woman. He combined the theme of passionate obsession with the language of sincere remorse to create a contradictory poem that draws on rhetorical models of paradoxical encomia.[765] The self-conscious act of creating a work to titillate his patrons and his cohort of fellow artist-poets fits into James Mirollo's model of mannerist

[764] Lines 142-144: "Da poi ch'io veggio in corsi in tali errori/ con la gente idiota, gente magna,/ Pontefici, Regnanti, e Imperatori."

[765] Cherchi, "L'encomio paradossale," 369: "l'encomio paradossale non era pensato solo come divertimento, ma come un esercizio retorico."

imitation: "because the poet is totally absorbed in but also self-conscious about his creative situation, he can include complex perspectives and meanings, and even allow strain to show."[766] As Danti folded in lines borrowed from Petrarch, he contributed another layer of reference to the Tuscan poet that does not always fit smoothly with the poem's concerns about natural forces. The themes of thwarted desire and the proper role of Art in relation to Nature, in the making of things vs. the transformation of materials, pair awkwardly with Danti's extreme self-deprecation about his state of depravity. Such complexity demonstrates Danti's ability to compose verse according to poetic norms of the mid-*cinquecento*.

Placing this poem within the genre of burlesque satirical compositions prompts a search for the titillating secondary meanings Danti would have embedded within such a text, in emulation of the burlesque writings of Varchi, Bronzino, and Cellini. In this genre, we can read the "small room" where the priest led Danti to teach him secrets of the alchemical art as an entry to the body, either anal or vaginal. The secrets that Danti learned there and his increasing obsession with that "art" then take on additional implications of sexual activity. The priest himself, Danti tells his reader, became so obsessed that "impoverished is my profession, I work only for the pleasure of this art, little valuing that which every man desires."[767] Danti then "found myself from then on transformed like a miser that is in search of treasure," which we can now read as carnal

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[766] James Mirollo, *Mannerism and Renaissance Poetry: Concept, Mode, Inner Design* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 70.

[767] Lines 67-69. A close study of the homosexual imagery described in the writings of the Accademia Fiorentina would likely yield ample evidence that Danti's literary circles would particularly appreciate the homoerotic imagery such as Danti included here, especially his assertion that the search for satisfaction turned him away from "that which every man desires," understood as heterosexual/heteronormative behaviors. For homosexuality and Luca Martini, Nelson, "Creative Patronage," 288. For Varchi, Bronzino, and homosexuality, Gaston, "Love's Sweet Poison," 285-288.

pleasure. The identification of the search for alchemical secrets as a pursuit of sexual pleasure pervades the rest of the poem, as Danti recounts a desperate quest for satisfaction. Indeed, he travels over many years to far-flung places to learn the secrets of pleasure; echoes of Petrarchan love are transformed into a frantic tale of sexual obsession. Themes of heat and drowsiness also pervade the poem. Danti describes that, in his search, he burned more wood and coal than Vulcan ever lit in Etna.[768]

The seventeenth-century collection of poems that contains this *capitolo* lists "Vincenzio Danti, scultore" as the author. The verses indicate that this sculptor-poet was not afraid to engage in either risque subjects or philosophical conversations. The *capitolo* represents Danti's insertion of his voice into an important political, religious, scientific dialogue at court while it also attests to his knowledge of the Tuscan vernacular and its distant and recent history in poetry. Danti had been raised beyond the geographical and cultural borders of Tuscany and his mastery of the local language indicates his desire to operate fluently in the local literary traditions that Cosimo worked to promote.

The *Capitolo contro l'Alchimia* also troubles the borders of disciplinary boundaries. In its composition, Danti combined burlesque humor with philosophical and scientific discourse in a way that also proclaimed his knowledge of the pet projects of his princes. He wrote the poem in the Florentine vernacular, despite his Perugian origins, and this work was at least popular enough that it was copied twice into later Florentine manuscripts. Although few of Danti's poetic works remain, together they convey his determination to participate fully in the intellectual projects of the Medici court.

[768] Lines 103-105: " Piu legne, e piu carbon' io arsi in vano/ ch'in Etna non ne tien' cotanti accesi/ l'antichissimo Fabro Siciliano."

POETRY APPENDIX

This appendix is based closely on that of David Summers,[769] but transcriptions have been updated where access to publications and manuscripts has been possible. Additional poems by Danti may still remain to be discovered in sixteenth-century manuscripts and publications.

I. Sonnet by Danti on his own work, in response to Timoteo Bottonio

From Schlosser, "Aus der Bildnerwerkstatt," 78-79.
His transcription from *Poesie Sacre*, ed. Orlandi (Perugia, 1779) 1:29.

Bottonio's sonnet on the Hercules and Antaeus:

Sonetto
Colla data di Firenze 15 Novembre 1559

Se la profana Erculea imago, e l' forte
Valor, ch' Anteo si fieramente strinse,
Non secondo il desio la mano effinte,
E gran sudor n'andò in poch'ore, e corte;
Colpa vostra non fu: ma nella sorte
Di Voi, ch' il fuoco ogni sua fiamma estinse,
E 'l liquido metallo allor ristrinse,
Per non formar di favolosa morte.
Or poi ch' al sagre, e al ver, l'arte, e l'ingegno
Volgete, e a più bell'opre, il puro e bianco
Marmo, e l'eneo liquor v'alza alle stelle.
Seguite dunque si onorato, e degno
Pensier, di che invidiar vi potranno anco
Zeusi, Fidia, Miron, Timante, Apelle.

Sonnet
With the date November 15, 1559, Florence

If the hand that portrayed the profane image of Hercules,
and strong Valor, that so boldly squeezes Antaeus,

[769] Summers, The Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti, 501-512.

Not according to the desire,
And great labor was gone in few and short hours;
It was not your fault but in your fate,
That the fire extinguished every one of its flames
And the liquid metal then congealed in order to not
Be part of that mythical death.
Follow then such an honorable and worthy thought
that Zeuxis, Phidias, Myron, Timanthes, Apelles
could envy you now that you turn your art and ingegno
to the sacred and true, and to more beautiful works,
The pure white marble and the bronze liquid
raises you to the stars.

Danti's sonnet in response:

Risposta
di Vincenzio Danti
al padre
Fr. Timoteo Bottonio:

Sonetto

Ahi ch'errai nel sentier con false scorte
Dell'oprar mio, dove 'l desio mi spinse,
Mentr' ei leve, e sublime a far m'astrinse
Opra, ch'ognor pena, e dolor m'apporte
Voi per la via, ch'alle celesti Porti
Guida ogn'Uom, che quaggiù se stesso vinse,
Veggio sicuro andar, poichè vi cinse
L'Abito sacro, e fè del Ciel consorte.
Sopra la pianta d'un si bel disegno
Dovevo alzar della mia vita il fianco
Contra il furor di tante aspre procelle.
Ma l'opre mie non van conformi al segno
Dell'alte vostre; e in van m'affanno, e stanco,
Non godendo queste io parti, nè quelle.

Response
By Vincenzo Danti
To Father Timoteo Bottonio

Alas that I wandered in the path with false guides
For my actions, while desire pressed me

to make lofty and sublime works,
which always brings me pain and suffering
I see you, who down here conquered yourself,
Securely going along the way
That leads every man to the celestial gates
Since you donned the sacred habit.
Following the plan of such a beautiful concept
I should have been satisfied by my life[770]
Against the fury of so many fierce storms
But my works do not measure up to the mark
Of your high ones; and in vain I worry, and tired out
I take my leave, not enjoying either these or those [mine or yours].

[770] Definition of idiomatic phrase "Alzare il fianco" from 4th edition of *Dizionario della Crusca* 2:445, also (http://www.lessicografia.it/FIANCO, accessed June 2013): "vale Mangiare assai, e del buono, e s'intende per lo più in conversazione." Benedetto Varchi used the idiom in the sense of having eaten enough in "La Suocera."

II. Sonnet on Cellini's Crucifix

From Adolfo Mabellini, Delle Rime di Benvenuto Cellini (Rome, Turin, Milan and Florence: Paravia, 1885), 326-327.771 In "Sonnetti," n. 4.772 He lists the source as Cod. Ricc. 2728, f. 34r.

A Benvenuto Cellini scultore

Voi ben dal ciel, voi ben venuto sete
Con l'imagin di Dio ne l'alta mente
Per formar qui tra la Cristiana gente
La vera effigie sua che sculto avete.
Quando sì nobil opra scoprirete,
A ciaschedun parrà Cristo presente
Veder nel dì che fur l'alme redente,
Sì ben l'arte e 'l suggetto aggiunti arete.
Io certo veggio uscir l'ultimo fiato
Dai santi labbri; e s'egli è carne o sasso
Chiaro non scorgo, intento a sì bell'opra.
Per cui l'alma si desta e 'l suo peccato
Lascia, mentre il contempla afflitto e lasso,
Si par ch'appunto il ver l'arte discopra.
Vincentio scultore da p...[773]

You well from heaven, you well came here among the Christian people with the image of God (in) that lofty mind to form the true effigy that you have sculpted.

When such a noble work you uncovered, to anyone Christ would seem present to see on the day that souls were redeemed, so well you brought together the art and the subject.

I clearly see the last breath passing from the holy lips, and gazing on such a beautiful work, I cannot make out whether he is flesh or bright stone.

For him whose soul is awakened and leaves behind its sin while it contemplates him who is afflicted and weary, it seems that in fact that it uncovers the truth.

Vincenzo, sculptor from p...

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[771] Mabellini 1885 online: http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433001014517;seq=341;view=1up;num=327

[772] Also published in Adolfo Mabellini, Le Rime di Benvenuto Cellini, G.B. Paravia, 1890 (archive.org: http://archive.org/stream/rime00mabegoog#page/n9/mode/2up), XXX, p. 274.

[773] Mabellini concluded that the word beginning "p...", obscured by a tear, was in fact "Perugia" because "Vincentio scultore da perugia" was listed as the author of a sonnet included nine pages later within the same manuscript.

III. Sonnet in praise of Cellini.

From Mabellini, *Delle Rime di Benvenuto Cellini*, 329-330. In "Sonnetti," n. 7.[774]
Source: Cod. Ricc. 2728, f. 43r.

A Benvenuto Cellini scultore

Non vogliate, Signor, prendere a sdegno
Mio troppo ardir chè ben l'alma s'accorge
De l'umil verso incolto, ond'ella porge,
Quanto può, loda al chiaro vostro ingegno.
Ma se ben il dir mio lunge è dal segno,
Frenar non posso il gran desio che sorge
Pur leve in alto, mentre attento scorge
In breve sasso un così gran disegno.
Ben dentro al cor mi sento et quanto et come
Di voi cantar dovrebbe un nuovo Homero;
Ma l'ingegno non basta a esprimer poi.
Dunque sol per mostrarvi il cor sincero,
Con basso stil mossi[775] a cantar di voi,
Non già per giunger fama al vostro nome.

Vincentio scultore da perugia

Please, Sir, do not take offense at my too great ardor, for the soul is well aware of the humble, uncultivated [quality of the] verse with which it offers, as best it can, to praise your illustrious genius.

But if my speech is far off the mark, while I attentively look at such great design [rendered] in a small stone, I cannot reign in the great desire that nonetheless raises up on high.

I feel well within my heart, both how much and how, a new Homer should sing of you, but (my) intelligence is not enough to express it.

And so I was moved to sing of you, in low style, not to add fame to your name but just to show you my sincere heart.

Vincenzo, sculptor from Perugia

[774] And Mabellini 1890, n. XXXI, p. 274

[775] "Mi mossi" interpreted here as a shortened version of the past tense of "muoversi."

IV. Sonnet. Response to Benedetto Varchi.

From Sonetti Spirituali di M. Benedetto Varchi con alcune risposte, 7 proposte di diversi eccellentissimi ingegni nuovamente stampati (Florence: Giunti, 1573).

Benedetto Varchi's sonnet to Danti, p. 47:

A' Messer Vincenzio Danti

Ben mi credea dopo míe tali, e tante
Colpe da lungo, desto, e mortal sonno
Ringraziar Dio lodando: hor piu m'assono
Che prima: e meno ardisco andar gli innante.
Perch'è grande il Signor, e sopra quante
Lode mai furo, ò sono, od esser puonno:
Formidabile ancor, perch'egli è Donno
Di quant'è, quanto sia, quanto fu innante.
Voi dunque DANTI e sì chiaro, e sì pio
Col dolce vostro à me sì caro Frate;
Per me lodate, e ringraziate Dio:
À Lui potenza, à Lui fortezza date,
Qual non è poco, anzi pur nella fio[776]
À chi nacque per Noi, visse, e morio?

I felt sure, after my so many and so great sins that came from my long, wide-awake, and mortal slumber, that I was thanking God by giving praise: now [though] I feel more sleepy than before, and I feel less the burning desire to go before him.

For great is the Lord and above all the praises that ever were or are or can be: formidable also, for He is Master of all that is, all that could be, all that was before.

You then, DANTI, both so renowned and so pious, with your sweet Brother so dear to me, praise and thank God in my name:

To him the power, to him the strength give. What is not too small, but rather part of the tribute owed to him who was born and lived and died for us?

[776] Dittionario Toscano: "fio, Fior per feudo...intendono fio solamente per la pena; onde pagar il fio esser gastigato," 282.

Danti's response, p. 93:

R. di M. Vincentio Danti à 47

BEATE colpe, e di tali e tante
Lodi, e grazie cagion fur sì, che'l sonno
(Bench'io son quel, ch'ancor vegliando assonno)
Han desto Voi, che vegliavate innante.
Mostrando altera prece sopra quante
Furon gia mai piu grate, e ch'ognor puonno
Render placado Dio d'ogni ira; e Donno
Altrui far sopra à chi di Noi fu innante.
Col vostro altero stile hor sacro, e pio
Seguite l'alta impresa, e'l mio buon Frate
Meco di tanto ben ringrazia Dio.
Ma Voi, mentre tal lodi, e grazie date;
Prego ch'insieme ogni mio grave fio[777]
Ponghiate avanti à chi per Noi morío.

Blessed sins, that were the occasion of such great praise and thanks, so that they awakened you from sleep, who were already awake before (though I am the one who, still awake, becomes sleepy).

Manifesting noble prayer above all those that were ever most well received, and that can always placate God's every anger, and that makes whoever was our Master before the Master of others.

With your noble, sacred, and pious style, you now follow the lofty undertaking, and, together with me, my good Brother thanks God for so much good.

But you, while you give such praises and thanks, I pray that you set every onerous tribute that I owe before him who died for us.

[777] Dittionario Toscano (della Crusca): "fio, Fior per feudo...intendono fio solamente per la pena; onde pagar il fio esser gastigato," 282.

V. Capitolo contro l'Alchimia

BCNF Codice Palatino 264 (old numbering: 35. E, 5, 2, 39), XXIII, f. 76r-78r.[778]

76r

Capitolo
di messer Vincenzo Danti Scultore
Perugino contro l'Alchimia del quale
ogni terzo verso è del Petrarca[779]

Il falso inganno[780], e la bugiarda froda
all'Arte[781] in che s'aggira l'Alchimista
qual'io mi sia per la mia linga[782] s'oda.
Ne dirò sol di udita[783] né di vista,[784]
Ma di ...andato mal per questa via[785]
qlch' in' molt'anni a gran' pena s'acquista.
E che sia il ver' guardate[786] in questa mia
mal'condotta presenza, che vi dice,[787]
povera, e nuda vai, Filosofia.
Cascato in Povertà, che si disdice[788]
al grado mio, e vivo in molti affani,[789]

[778] Summers published this capitolo by Danti in his dissertation, 505-512, and subsequent scholars have relied on his transcription in their brief discussions of this work. Another version of this capitolo by Danti, "Capitolo in dispregio dell'Archimia," appears in BCNF Magliabecchiano Cl. VII, 877, beginning fol. 35v. The Magliabecchiano manuscript dates to the sixteenth century and may provide a version of the capitolo that more closely approximates Danti's original than the seventeenth-century copy that appears in the Palatino manuscript. However, a more precise transcription and closer study are required for a comparison between the two versions. I work here from a transcription of the Magliabecchiano capitolo that was graciously and generously provided by Louis A. Waldman.

[779] Summers has asserted that this was not the case, but Elena Nicolai recently traced every third line of Danti's capitolo to its origin within the verses of Petrarch's Canzoniere and Triomphi. Nicolai, "Un caso di petrarchismo alchemico: Vincenzo Danti scultore," Amaltea Trimestrale di cultura 7 (2012): 10-18.

[780] BCNF Magliabecchiano Cl. VII, 877 (hereafter "Magl. capitolo"), f. 35v, first half of line 1: "À mal mio grado": "To my vile taste/pleasure."

[781] Magl. capitolo: "Dell'arte": "Of art."

[782] (Sic.) Magl. capitolo: "lingua"

[783] Originally marked here "visto," then cancelled and "udita" added in margin. This marginal correction was not included in Summers' transcription but was noted by Nicolai, "Un caso di petrarchismo alchemico,"13. The substitution seems to be an inserted correction by the seventeenth-century copyist of the capitolo.

[784] Magl. capitolo: "Io sono un di color descritto in lista:" "I am one of those described in the list"

[785] Magl. capitolo: "Ch'hanno andato mal per questa via:" "That they had gone badly for this."

[786] Magl. capitolo: "Et chi non crede guardi questa mia:" "And who does not believe, watch this my..."

[787] Magl. capitolo: "la qual dice:" "which says"

[788] Magl. capitolo: "Pover à me, meschino, et infelice:" "Poor me, miserable and unhappy"

miser, ond'io sperava esser' felice.
Cagion' di tal sofisti iniqui inganni,[790]
che per tal', qual'io son', ognun' m'addita[791]
all'andar' alla voce, al viso,[792] a panni.
Ch' Avarizia ingorda, et infinita
ch'altrui conduce, ov'infra quei son messo,
ch'anno se in odio, e la soverchia vita.
Ma pur' di me mi maraviglio spesso,[793]
pensando a ql ch'io son, 'e che son' stato,
ch'appena riconosco omai me stesso.
Ora resti ciascun' maravigliato,[794]
mentre che la mia lingua sarà tale[795]
che stringer' possa il mio 'nfelice stato.
Voi che filosofando il naturale[796]
tra zolfi,[797] e tra metalli ve' n' andate,[798]
deli restate a veder' qual' è 'l mio male.
[76v] E se punto vi cale, e punto amate
uscir' d'errore, il mio perpetua Danno,
tal'or'vi muova, e con pieta guardate.
E da me il credan',[799] come a quei che sanno,
che dal tempo, che tal laccio mi prese,
rimane 'ndietro il sestodecim'anno.
Tutte l'altre mie buone, e sante imprese[800]
Lasciai per questa, che sciopra il pensiero,[801]
Or' con voglie gelate, or' con accese.
E pensai d'arricchir',[802] ma non fu vero,
ch'io son' qual' mi vedete, e messi poi[803]

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[789] Magl. capitolo: "Che gia fui lieto, et hor vivo in affanni:" "That I was once happy and now live in breathlessness"
[790] Magl. capitolo: "Cagion degl' empi miei soffisti inganni:" "For the reason of my godless, sophist deception"
[791] Magl. capitolo includes an additional word: "ogn' huom m'addita:" "every man pointed me"
[792] Magl. capitolo: "al volto:" also "face"
[793] Magl. capitolo: "Meco di me pur mi vergogno spesso:" "these things of mine then shame me often"
[794] Magl. capitolo: "Ecco quel che cercando ho ritrovato:" "At this which searching for I discovered"
[795] Magl. capitolo: "Un desio, che la lingua mia sia tale:" "A desire that my tongue could be so"
[796] Magl. capitolo: "Et cosi dico à voi ch'il naturale:" "And so I tell you that nature"
[797] Magl. capitolo: "solfi."
[798] Magl. capitolo: "...metalli transformate:" "transformed metals"
[799] Magl. capitolo: "E à me si creda:" "And it is believed by me"
[800] Magl. capitolo: "All'hor lasciai tuttie mie buone imprese:" "At this time I would leave all my good tasks"
[801] Magl. capitolo: "Per seguir quest'errore iniquo e fero:" "To follow this iniquitous and cruel error"
[802] Magl. capitolo: "Pensai diventar rico:" "I would think to become rich"
[803] Magl. capitolo: "Anzi la povertà mi misse poi:" "Instead the poverty then (puts?) me"

ugualmente in non cale ogni pensiero.
L'Alchimia pur'facendo i gesti suoi
m'à fatto vostro esempio, Deh guardate[804]
che similmente non avvenga a voi.
Nacque il principio del mio mal da un frate,
ch'era in quest'arte per sin' alla gola,
e parve mi mirabil' vanitate.
Dietro al convento una Stanzotta sola
aveva, et ivi menommi il buon padre[805]
dicendomi di ciò non far' parola.
Com'io fui dentro disse: Ecco la madre
dell'Arte, or' guarda ben' questa Fornace
di triangoli tondi, e forme quadre.
Non posso di quest'altra darmi pace
che vedi in terra, al mondo era quest'una,
cadde tre volte;[806] et alla terza giace.
Or vien' piu innanzi, e guarda quella Luna
con tante bocche, e vengoti a mostrare[807]
tutte le mie fatiche ad una ad una.
Qui si puote ogni cosa lambiccare
quest'è quanto di torre, e di Fucina,
[77r] Arte, ingegno, Natura e 'l Ciel' puon' fare.
E questo è quel Fornel, ove s'affina
L'Argento e l'Or' ch'io faccio; insomma sono
grazie ch'a pochi il Ciel' larghe destina.
Ma questo poco curo, che non ponno[808]
ricchezze in me, ma ben sprezzate avria,
quand'ero in parte altr'uom da quel che io sono.
Or povertate è la profession' mia,
Sol' per piacer' di quest'Arte lavoro,
Poco prezzando quel che ogn Uom desia.[809]
Insomma il Padre m'insegnò il Lavoro
e mi trovai da quel poi trasformato,[810]
comè l'Avaro, ch'è 'n cercar' tesoro.

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[804] Magl. capitolo: "Tal che m'ha fatto esempio, onde guardate:" "Such that I was made an example, thus listen"
[805] Magl. capitolo: "Teneva, dove mi condusse 'l padre:" "he kept, where the father led me"
[806] Magl. capitolo: "Tre volte cadde."
[807] Magl. capitolo: "...e hor ti vo mostrare:" "and now I will show you"(?)
[808] Magl. capitolo: "...pono"
[809] Nicolai enclosed the Padre's speech, which began line 49 and concludes here, in quotation marks. Nicolai, "Un caso di petrarchismo alchemico," 15.
[810] Magl. capitolo: "In poco tempo, et m'hebbe transformato"

Che quando pensa averlo ritrovato
piu ne desia: Così l'Alchimista ogn'ora
è per lasciar' piu l'animo invischiato.
E parci fallir chi non lavora,
com' or' son'io, che i creditori mi fanno
la sera desiar, e odiar' l'aurora.
Sei volte son' per debito questo anno
stato fra Birri; O qual' sorte, o cagione,
qual'mio destin, qual forza, o qual inganno?
Non altro, che la mia ostinazione,
che chiarir' non mi volsi, et ora veggio
come sono 'ngannate le persone.
Pur'[811] come disperato ogn' or' vaneggio,
e poi concludo di viltade il calle[812]
la mia Fortuna, che mi puo far' peggio.
Ma voi, ch'amate[813] questo e quel metallo
mutar' in Oro, levate ogni speme,
mentre emendar' potete il vostro fallo.
[77v] L'argento e l'or ciascun' dalle sue vene
si cavi,[814] ne imitar' poss'io gia mai,
che natura non vuol', ne si conviene.[815]
Tal' mantener' vogl'io,[816] et tu che n'hai
discritto Alberto, viemmi contro, et anzi
veghin' quanti Filosofi fur' mai.
E di questi mi mostrino gl'avanzi[817]
le lassate[818] Città, e Castella, e Ville,
sogni d'infermi, e fole di romanzi.
Non bisogna ch' alcun' piu si distille
il suo cervell', che ben' sa quella mano
che'io n'ò cercate gia vie piu di mille.
Piu legne, e piu carbon' io arsi in vano,
ch'in Etna non ne tien' cotanti accesi
l'antichissimo Fabro Siciliano.

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[811] Magl. capitolo: "Et"
[812] Magl. capitolo: "Et tra me dico, al cor facendo il callo,"
[813] Magl. capitolo: "Voi che pensate"
[814] Magl. *capitolo*: "cava"
[815] Davis and Proctor transcriptions both "conviene," but Petrarch's line ends "convene." Nicolai, "Un caso di petrarchismo alchemico," 16, n. 35: "RVF, 350, v. 5."
[816] Magl. capitolo: "Et tal vo mantenere"
[817] Magl. capitolo: "Que son di costoro i ricchi avanzi"
[818] Magl. capitolo: "Lasciate." [garzanti dictionary on "lassare": v. tr. (ant.) lasciare: ripensando al dolce ben ch'io lasso (PETRARCA Canz. XV, 5) ||| lassarsi v. intr. pron. (ant.) allentarsi, sfasciarsi: Il legno vinto in più parti si lassa (ARIOSTO O. F. XLI, 14).]

Ancora gl'anni, non che giorni e mesi,
per dimandar'[819] segreti e chi distilla
cercar m'han fatto diversi paesi.
Piu volte l'erte[820] al lume di favilla
salsi di Norcia, i monti ove sta in cima
l'antichissimo albergo di Sibilla.
Deh, fugga ognun' quest'arte, e faccia prima:
che vi s'invecchi, come di anzi disse,
com'uom ch'erra, e poi piu 'l dritto stima.
Non crediate ad alcun', che chi ne scrisse
non l'intese quant'io, se fusse bene
Nestor' che tanto seppe, e tanto visse.
A poco a poco[821] tal' sete ne viene,
consumando la vita, ond'io son'veglio:[822]
Del tutto è cieco ch' in te pon' sua spene.
[78r] Ma or' chè da tal' sonno mi risveglio,
concludo e dico: sopr' ogn' altra cosa
obbedir' a Natura in tutto è meglio.
Alcun' vuol'dire che tal' Arte è nascosa
e ch'un dì troverassi; et io le dico:
Prima sarà[823] ogni impossibil cosa.
Certo non vi vorrei un mio nemico
in quest' errore, ch'a me non[824] riesce
che m'è nascosto, ond'io son si mendico.
Ma piu di me, che d'altri al fin' m'incresce,
che pria che sia sarà state et inverno,
e colcherassi il sol' la oltre ond'esce.
L'Alchimia dal Demonio dell'Inferno
fu ritrovata, e le miniere sole
usciron' buon' di man' del Mastro eterno.
E voi, ch'avete[825] il tempo e le parole
indarno spese in un' tal' letargo,
or vi riconfortate in vostre fole.
Vorrei lung'esser piu parlando,[826] e largo,

[819] Magl. capitolo: "ricercar"
[820] Magl. capitolo: "Oh quante volte". Erte or erbe—Nicolai sees "erte", Summers and I "erbe," but "erte" makes more sense in a discussion mountaintops.
[821] Magl. capitolo: "Et meco dica à chi"
[822] Magl. capitolo: "Per cui son fatto macilente, et veglio"
[823] Magl. capitolo: "Esser puo in prima"
[824] Magl. capitolo: "nulla"
[825] Magl. capitolo: "O Alchimisti"
[826] Magl. capitolo: "Vorrei piu lungo esser parlando"

ma tra me dico a questi tali[827] umori,
forse ch'indarno mie parole spargo.
Da poi ch'io veggio in corsi in tali errori
con la gente idiota, gente magna,
Pontefici, Regnanti, e Imperatori.
Onde tal fame,[828] qual rabbiosa cagna
va per il mondo questo, e quel mordendo,
da India, dal Cataio, Marocco, e Spagna.
E son' uno di quei, se ben' comprendo
il pessimo veleno ch'il mal crebbe,[829]
onde n'ho molt'amaro, e piu n'attendo,
che piu saggio di me ingannato avrebbe.

[827] Magl. capitolo: "pazzi"
[828] Magl. capitolo: "E questa fraude"
[829] Magl. capitolo: "Il perfido venen ch'ogn'hor s'avrebbe"

[The false deception and the lying cheat to Art, in which wanders the alchemists, which I myself woudl be is hateful for my tongue.
I will say only, neither by hearing nor by sight, but having gone badly in this way (myself), such that in many years one acquires great punishment.
And that would be the truth you see in this, my badly conducted presence, that tells you (that) poor and nude you go, Philosophy.
Fallen into poverty, that is unbecoming at my level, and I live in much breathlessness, wretched, when I had hoped to be happy.
The cause of such sophist wicked deceptions, that for such which I am, everyone pointed to me to go to the voice, to the face, to the vestige [of someone else][830].
That greedy and infinite avarice that leads others, such as I was put among them, that they have hate in themselves and excessive [831] life.
But then I marvel at myself often, thinking about that which I am and that which I was, that already by now I recognize myself.
Now anyone would remain amazed, that my tongue will be such that it could express[832] my unhappy state.
You, who philosophizing nature among sulfurs and among metals, go there, of them remain to see what is my evil.
And if a point you care and a point you love to avoid error, my perpetual damnation from now moves you, and (so) watch with pity.
And from me the belief, such as to those that you know, that from the time that such a snare took me, remains sixteen years in the past.
All my other good things and sacred tasks I would leave for this, that ruins the thought, now with desires frozen, now (with them) alight.
And I would think to become wealthy, but it was not true, that I am that which you see, and put then equally such that every thought is disregarded.
So Alchemy even making its gestures made me your example, so watch, that it does not come to you similarly.
The beginning of my evil was born from a friar, who was in this art up to his neck, and seemed to my vain self (to be) admirable.
Behind the convent he had a single large room, and there the good father led me, telling me not to say a word.
As I was inside he said, "Here is the mother of Art, now watch well this furnace of rounded triangles and square forms.
Of this (furnace) I cannot give myself peace that you see on earth, to the world was this one, fallen three times, and on the third lies.
Now come closer, and watch that moon with many holes, and I'll come to show you all of my labors one by one.

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[830] Idiomatic use of "panni:" nei panni di qualcuno = "in someone else's place / shoes."
[831] "Excessive" in the sense of additional life, thanks to the philosopher's stone.
[832] "Squeeze (out)."

Here one can distill everything, this is as much as of tower and of forge, art, ingenuity, nature and heaven can do.
And this is that kiln, where one refines silver and gold that I make, in short the few are widely graced who Heaven has (so) destined.
But (of) this I care little, that they do not bring riches to me but would have well despised when I was in part another man from that which I am.
Now impoverished is my profession, I work only for the pleasure of this art, little valuing that which every man desires."
In short the father taught me the work, and I found myself from then on transformed like a miser, that is in search of treasure,
that when (one) thinks to have found it all the more one desires it, so the alchemist is every hour losing more (of his) entangled soul.
And who does not work seems to us to fail (in that), as I am now, that creditors make me yearn for evening and hate morning.
Six times I was before the (Bargello captains) in debt this year; Oh what kind or reason, which (for my) my destiny, which strength, which deception?
None other than my own obstinacy, that did not turn me to clarify, and now I see how people are deceitful.
Yet how despairing I waver every hour, and then I conclude in the way of cowardice my fortune, that could do worse to me.
But you who love to change this or that metal in gold, you raise every hope, while you can amend your fault.
Silver and gold is each excavated from its veins, neither can I ever imitate, what nature does not want, nor should.
Such I want to hold onto, and you that had described Albertus comes against me, and rather there wake as many Philosophers (as) ever were.
And of this they show me the remains, the weary cities, the castle, the villas, dreams of the infirm, fables of romances.
No one need distill his brain any more, that well that hand knows that I have not looked already for than a thousand ways.
I burned in vain more wood and more coal, that the most ancient Sicilian blacksmith did not keep so much alight in Etna.
And more the years, not just days and months, searching for the secrets and who distills (them) made me travel many lands.
More times the slopes by the light of a spark the salts(?) of Norcia, the mountains where the most ancient abode of the Sibyl sits on the summit.
Alas, everyone flee this art and do it before it would age you, as in the past was said as man errs, so the direct (way? the truth?) is worth more.
Do not believe in anyone who writes but does not understand as much as I: it could well be Nestor who knows so much, and so much sees.
Bit by bit that thirst comes, consuming life, whence I am awake: of everything (it) is blind that puts its hope in you.

But now that from such sleep I reawake, I conclude and say: over every other thing to obey Nature in everything is better.
Some want to say that that art is hidden and that one day (it) will be found, and I tell them: First will be every impossible thing.
Certainly I don't want you (to be) my enemy in this error, that for me it never worked, that which is hidden from me, from which I am a beggar.
But at the end I feel sorry more for myself than for others, before it would be, summer and winter will be, and the sun would lie down there from where it rises.
Alchemy was rediscovered from the demon of the Inferno, and the minerals only come out well by the hand of the eternal Master.
And you, who have spent the time and the words in vain in such a lethargy, that now you comfort yourselves in your stories.
I would like to be speaking longer, and large, but to myself I say to these (such) spirits, that maybe in vain I strew my words.
From then that I see underway in such errors with the idiot people the great people, popes, rulers, and emperors,
Whence such fame, that rabid bitch goes through this world and that biting, from India, from Catania, Morocco, and Spain.
And I am one of them, if well I understand the worst poison that evil created, whence I have great bitterness, and more I am awaiting. That more sage than me has been deceived.]

Chapter 5: The Treatise on Perfect Proportions and Anatomist-Artists in Late Renaissance Florence

Vincenzo Danti attributed his knowledge of *disegno*, beauty, and proportion to his diligent study of both classical sculptures and the works of Michelangelo in the prefatory letter to Duke Cosimo that begins Danti's *Treatise on Perfect Proportions*.[833] The text, published in Florence in 1567, was intended as the first of fifteen volumes on the subject of proportion in the human body and in nature. Besides his study of ancient and recent sculpures, Danti claimed to have built his expertise on proportion through his experience of personally dissecting eighty-three human bodies. He clarified that this number of anatomical studies was in addition to those dissections that he had witnessed but did not perform himself.[834] Scholars have examined many aspects of Danti's treatise, but his assertion that he had personally opened human bodies to study their proportion remains largely unexplored.[835] By bringing together the topics of *disegno* and anatomical practice

[833] Vincenzio Danti, *Il primo libro del trattato delle perfette proporzioni di tutte le cose che imitare e ritrarre si possano con l'arte del disegno* (Florence: [n.p.], 1567): ii (recto); also published in *Trattati d'arte del cinquecento: Fra manierismo e controriforma*, ed. Paola Barocchi [hereafter Danti-Barocchi, *Trattato*] (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1960), 1:209. For book dedications as a deposit of social relationships, Lisa Pon, "Michelangelo's Lives: Sixteenth-Century Books by Vasari, Condivi, and Others," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27 (1996): 1018.

[834] Danti, *Trattato*, ii (verso): "avere più di ottantatré corpi umani anotomizzato: non connumerando quegli che da altri in diverse parti ho veduti tagliare" [have anatomized more than 83 human bodies: not counting those which I have seen cut in difference pieces by others]; Danti-Barocchi, *Trattato*, 1:209.

[835] For Danti's artistic language and theory, see: Bernard Schulz, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 42-44; Margaret Daly Davis, "Beyond the 'Primo Libro' of Vincenzo Danti's 'Trattato delle perfette proporzioni'," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 26 (1982): 63-84; David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981); David Summers, "Michelangelo on Architecture," *Art Bulletin* 54 (1972): 146-175; Sergio Rossi, "Il 'Trattato delle perfette proporzioni' di Vincenzo Danti e l'incidenza della Poetica sulle teoria artistiche del secondo cinquecento," *Storia dell'arte* 14 (1972): 127-147. For Danti's treatise and architecture, David Hemsoll, "The Laurentian Library and Michelangelo's Architectural Method," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 66 (2003): 60-62.

in his treatise, Danti entrenched his artistic talents in ongoing court discourse about the interior of the human body.[836]

Dissections were part of public spectacle in Tuscany, and were also a component of artistic practice rooted in Florence. Duke Cosimo's interest in anatomy shaped the study of natural science at the universities within the Tuscan state. The duke had invited the greatest medical authors in Europe to lecture at the University of Pisa during the 1540s and 1550s, and it became a center for new anatomical science. The study of anatomy by Florentine artists was also rooted in Michelangelo's practice, as well as the tradition of Tuscan artists who studied the interior of the human body. The Accademia del Disegno required its members to attend annual dissections from the time of its foundation.[837] Thus, Danti's claim to experience in practicing dissections was standard for an artist in the Florentine context. Yet, by declaring that he had dissected the enormous total of eighty-three bodies, Danti separated himself from his peers by the sheer volume of his accomplishments as an artist-anatomist. For all the interest in anatomy and its intersection with the arts, Danti managed to produce the only text rooted in anatomical practice that was published in Florence during Cosimo's reign.[838]

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[836] For artists and court discourse, Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno*. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 27-59. The most important Florentine exemplar of an artist-anatomist, as with sculptural and poetic style, was of course Michelangelo, whom Danti cited in this first chapter as influential on his own work.

[837] On the Florentine academy and anatomy, see Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 56, 162-172; Zygmunt Waźbińkski, *L'Accademia del Disegno a Firenze nel Cinquecento. Idea e istituzione* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1987), 1:183-88; Frederika Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling: Marsyas, Michelangelo, and the Accademia del Disegno," *Art Bulletin* 84 (2002): 426.

[838] Vasari placed an emphasis on anatomical practice in the *Vite*, although the bulk of the text does not address the practice of dissection or its impact on artistic practice, Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, in the *vita* of Franciabigio, 5:196; of Pollaiuolo, 3:241-42; of Marcantonio della Torre, 4:35. For Cellini and Allori's manuscripts on anatomy and art-making, see Patricia Reilly, "Drawing the Line: Benvenuto Cellini's On the Principles and Methods of Learning the Art of Drawing and the question of amateur drawing education," in *Benvenuto Cellini: Sculptor, Goldsmith, Writer*, ed. Margaret Gallucci and Paolo Rossi (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 26-28.

IMAGES OF ARTIST-ANATOMISTS IN THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Three particular objects demonstrate the contextual importance of anatomical practice to artistic training in the decades when Danti would have been conducting dissections. The first of these is the printed frontispiece to Realdo Colombo's *De re anatomica*, the text on interior anatomy that Colombo published in Venice in 1559 (Fig. 32). Both Colombo, at center, and Michelangelo, right foreground, are depicted in this print. The surgeon's friendship with Michelangelo centered around their mutual interest in the interior forms of the body, Colombo for his study of internal organs and Michelangelo for his interest in the effect of musculature on the surface of the body.[839] The friends were long believed to have collaborated on an anatomical text in Rome, with Michelangelo supplying the illustrations.[840] However, Caroline Hillard has recently shown that, although a close friendship did exist and was rooted in exploration of the interior of the body, such a collaborative publication was probably never planned.[841]

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[839] Domenico Laurenza, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy: Images from a Scientific Revolution* (New Haven and New York: Yale University Press with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2012), 13-17; Carrie Hillard, "Michelangelo and Realdo Colombo: A Dialogue on Art and Anatomy," in *Italian Art, Society, and Politics: A Festschrift in Honor of Rab Hatfield*, ed. Barbara Deimling, Jonathan K. Nelson, and Gary Radke, *Villa Rossa Series* 3 (Florence: Syracuse University in Florence, 2007), 163-177; Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling," 440; Schulz, *Art and Anatomy*, 102-103; James Elkins, "Michelangelo and the Human Form: His Knowledge and Use of Anatomy," *Art History* 7 (1984): 176-186; Alessandro Parronchi, "Sulla nascita dell'anatomia artistica," in *Opere giovanili di Michelangelo* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1975) 1:19-48; Alessandro Parronchi, "Michelangelo e Realdo," *Opere giovanili di Michelangelo*, 3:159-166.

[840] Schulz, *Art and Anatomy*, 100-109; Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, 20, 25; Andrea Carlino, *Books of the Body: Anatomical Ritual and Renaissance Learning*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 59-66; Leo Steinberg, "Michelangelo and the Doctors," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 56 (1982): 547-49.

[841] Hillard, "Michelangelo and Realdo Colombo," 165-167.

The frontispiece of *De re anatomica* that depicts both men is the only image in Colombo's text and it makes visible the intellectual friendship between this surgeon and artist. In the print, Colombo and Michelangelo are the two most prominent figures among a group of men who surround an open body, in the space of a university anatomy theater. The frontispiece shows Colombo addressing students as he holds a knife in one hand and points to the cadaver's open abdomen with the other. Michelangelo leads a small boy to the body. The barefoot boy holds four short objects, which appear to be quills, and Michelangelo directs his attention to the opened cadaver. For late-*cinquecento* artists in Florence, Michelangelo's interest in musculature and dissection practice had an impact on the culture of artistic training. Surgeons and artists both opened bodies but for different purposes in the sixteenth century. Surgeons explored interior forms and their operations, while artists generally sought to understand the interior causes of exterior forms.[842] It was in this context that Danti prepared and published his treatise, in which he, too, rooted his understanding of Nature and *disegno* in an extensive practice of anatomy.

After mid-century biographies described Michelangelo's anatomical study, the next generation of artists produced works that celebrated his legacy. An ink drawing from the time of Danti's *Treatise* portrays the practice of anatomy as a shared pursuit of artists. A drawing in the Louvre by Bartolommeo Passarotti shows an imagined gathering of famous artists around an opened human body (Fig. 33).[843] Passarotti depicted

[842] Laurenza, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy*, 31; Anna Addis, "Artisti, anatomia e 'botteghe d'arte'," in *Rappresentare il corpo: Arte e anatomia da Leonardo all'Illuminismo*, ed. Giuseppe Olmi (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2004), 252-57.

[843] Louvre, Département des arts graphiques, no. 8427. See Benedetta Mattucci, "Bartolomeo Passarotti (Bologna, 1529-1592), Ritratto di Michelangelo," in *Il volto di Michelangelo*, ed. Pina Ragionieri (Florence: Mandragora and Fondazione Casa Buonarroti, 2008), 82, no. 34; Paul Joannides, *The Drawings of Michelangelo and his Followers in the Ashmolean Museum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 378.

Michelangelo as the primary instructor of an anatomy lesson, engaged in conversation with Raphael, Leonardo, and others.[844] Michelangelo sits at the foot of a dissecting slab and holds a long leg muscle in each of his hands, while turning over right his shoulder to converse with an artist who sits adjacent to him, probably Leonardo.[845] Artists surround the rest of the slab and the propped-up corpse, sketching and discussing the body. Another small group of artists appear to discuss the pose of a suspended skeleton and a small wax or clay figure in the opposite rear corner of the room. The drawing imagines an ideal, ahistorical setting in which young artists could learn from their elders, most importantly from Michelangelo, of whom Passarotti was a devoted follower.[846] The image also links anatomy to artistic pedagogy, a central mission of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno, which Danti joined in 1563.[847]

Jan van der Straet created another drawing that shows the importance of anatomical training to *cinquecento* artists. The British Museum houses a 1573 drawing by

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[844] Andrea del Sarto, Sebastiano del Piombo, Baccio Bandindelli, Giulio Romano, Marcantonio Raimondo, and Perino del Vaga. Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling," 439; Carlino, *Books of the Body*, 65; Angela Gherardi, *Bartolomeo Passerotti pittore (1529-1592), catalogo generale* (Rimini: Luisè Editore, 1990), 43-46; Hugo Wagner, *Raffael in Bildnis* (Bern: Benteli, 1969), 90-91. The workshop painting after this drawing, housed in the Galleria Borghese, does not depict the artists with such close attention to portraiture.

[845] Mattucci, "Ritratto di Michelangelo," 82; Joannides, *Drawings of Michelangelo*, 378; Gherardi, *Bartolomeo Passarotti*, 151-157.

[846] Matucci, "Ritratto di Michelangelo," 82. For followers of Michelangelo vs. students of Michelangelo, see Pilliod, "The Influence of Michelangelo: Pontormo, Bronzino and Allori," in *Reactions to the Master: Michelangelo's Effect on Art and Artists in the Sixteenth Century,* ed. Francis Ames Lewis and Paul Johannides (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 31, 49-49.

[847] Passarotti and Egnazio Danti later knew one another in Bologna, around the time that Egnazio was summarizing Vincenzo's artistic theory for *Le Scienze Matematiche Ridotte in Tavole* (Bologna: Compagnia della Stampa, 1577). Egnazio Danti praised Passarotti as one of the "più resplendenti lumi" of disegno, in *Le Due Regole della Prospettiva Pratica di M. Jacomo Barozzi da Vignola, con i comentarii del R. P.M. Egnazio Danti dell'ordine de Predicatori Matematico dello Studio di Bologna* (Rome: Francesco Zannetti, 1583), 97. Passarotti almost certainly would have known Vincenzo Danti's *Treatise on Perfect Proportions*.

van der Straet, *The Practice of the Visual Arts* or *Academy of Art* (Fig. 31), as well as two subsequently produced prints.[848] In his drawing, Van der Straet depicted the setting of an art academy that includes both an articulated skeleton and a cadaver, each suspended upright by ropes and posed for young artists to draw. In the center of the composition, a sculptor chisels a nearly-complete sculpture group on a pedestal that includes the figures of the Tiber river god and of Romulus and Remus, attributes that suggest the prints were intended to be sold in Rome, where they were published. Van der Straet himself had lived and worked in Florence since 1550.[849] He and Alessandro Allori were the consuls of the Accademia del Disegno who were assigned to organize its first mandatory anatomy lecture, so he would have known anatomical practice in the context of academic training.[850] The Accademia del Disegno conducted this anatomy lesson annually for young artists at the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, where the confraternity of painters, dedicated to St. Luke, had met earlier in the century.[851] Also at Santa Maria Nuova, artists could sketch from articulated skeletons such as the one that Stradano places in this idealized didactic setting; several drawings of that skeleton by Alessandro Allori survive

[848] Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling," 436-437. Drawing: British Museum, SL,5214.2. The two prints: one made Cornelis Cort and published by Lorenzo Vaccari in Rome in 1578 (British Museum Prints and Drawings, Ii,5.110) and another made by Bartolomeo Mazza and published by Luca Bertelli in Venice in 1580 (British Museum, Prints and Drawings, Ii,5.111). An impression of the Cort print is also in the collection of the Blanton Museum of Art, no. 2002.2102.

[849] Alessandra Baroni, "Johannes Stradanus Biography," in *Stradanus, 1523-1605: Court Artist to the Medici*, ed. Alessandra Baroni et. al. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2012), 5; Sandra Jensens, "The Flemish Roots of Johannes Stradanus," *Stradanus, 1523-1605: Court Artist to the Medici*, 20-21.

[850] Baroni, "Johannes Stradanus Biography," 6; Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling," 436; Luigi Zangheri, ed., *Gli Academici del Disegno: Elenco alfabetico* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2000), for Allori, 7, for van der Straet, 306.

[851] Gustavo Barbensi, *Il pensiero scientifico in Toscana* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1969), 217.

(Fig. 34).[852] In his drawing, van der Straet located a variety of activities associated with artistic training in a single, busy, allegorized space that includes anatomical study along with fresco painting, drawing after antiquities, and the study of the proportions of a model of a horse. The drawing clearly shows articulated muscles, veins, and the anatomists' precise use of knives as they conduct the lesson. Neither print produced after this drawing retains those details.

These three objects all depict anatomical learning in semi-public settings with groups of students gathered around a body to understand its interior forms. Danti and van der Straet both witnessed the annual anatomy demonstrations staged by the Accademia del Disegno at the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova starting in 1563. Danti, however, pursued the study of anatomy beyond this context of academic learning, as attested in his text and in correspondence. He wrote his treatise, an exposition of theories of proportion built on his own practice of anatomy, to address an audience of young artists similar to those who were depicted studying opened bodies in these images. The emphasis that Danti placed on anatomy, thus, conforms to the interests of artists in central Italy during the third quarter of the sixteenth century, even if Danti's publication of the text makes him an exceptional member of that group.

DUKE COSIMO AND ANATOMICAL PRACTICE IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY TUSCANY

Danti's emphasis on his experience of performing anatomies was in accordance with the scientific and medical interests of Duke Cosimo, who encouraged anatomical

[852] Maria Cecilia Fabbri, "Alessandro Allori e la sua bottega per lo Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova," in *Il patrimonio artistico dell'ospedale Santa Maria Nuova di Firenze*, ed. Cristina de Benedictis (Florence: Polistampa, 2002), 165-167; Laura Ciuccetti, "Lo Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova e la sua evoluzione attraverso settecento anni di storia," in *Il patrimonio artistico dell'ospedale Santa Maria Nuova di Firenze*, 26; Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling)," 437-438.

study in the universities of Tuscany. Cosimo's interest in this science followed the vogue for "New Anatomy" across Europe in the sixteenth century.[853] The rich historiography on the practice of dissection in sixteenth-century Italy primarily addresses the medical, social, and theological issues involved in the opening of bodies.[854] Katharine Park, Jonathan Sawday, Andrea Carlino, and Samuel Edgerton have explored the populations of Renaissance Italians whose deceased bodies were most often opened in the sixteenth century.[855] For public anatomies in hospitals and for medical study, semi-public settings in which the disruption of traditional funeral practices could put family honor at risk, lecturers opened the bodies of criminals and foreigners, people on the margins of society.[856] Some anatomists rationalized this practice by claiming that executed criminals

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[853] Siraisi, "Introduction," *Medicine and the Italian Universities, 1250-1600*, (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), 7; Louis van Delft, "I secoli d'oro dell'anatomia," in *Rappresentare il corpo: Arte e Anatomia da Leonardo all'Illuminismo*, ed. Giuseppe Olmi (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2004), 93-118; Nancy Siraisi, "Giovanni Argentario and Sixteenth-Century Medical Innovation: Between Princely Patronage and Academic Controversy," *Osiris* 6, Renaissance Medical Learning: Evolution of a Tradition (1990): 163-65; Paul Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 328-332.

[854] José Pardo-Tomás, "L'anatomia rinacimentale: Un soggetto storiografico rinnovato," in *Il teatro dei corpi: Le pitture colorate d'anatomia di Girolamo Fabrici d'Acquapendente* ed. M. Rippa-Bonati and José Pardo-Tomás (Milan: Media Med edizioni scientifiche, 2004), 31-44, surveys five major texts released between 1994 and 2004.

[855] Katharine Park, *The Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006); Carlino, *Books of the Body*, 187-225; Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 1995); Samuel Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment: art and criminal prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985).

[856] Katharine Park, "The Criminal and the Saintly Body: Autopsy and Dissection in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 47 (1994): 12-13, 16; Park, *Secrets of Women*, 14. In private homes and settings, medical professionals anatomized the bodies of aristocratic and wealthy women with concern for the health of future generations. Park has shown that the medical profession focused on the male body as the neutral body while the uterus represented the most complicated of human organs and, therefore, the focus of medical texts about the interior of the body. She argues that the sixteenth-century view of the body was highly gendered, with the exterior of the body identified as male and the interior as female. Park, *Secrets of Women,* 27-37.

who were dissected were redeemed through the knowledge their bodies imparted.[857] Recent scholarship on "new anatomy" has shown that these dissections, for the most part, were intended either to revise ancient texts on the human body or to understand the body's function. They rarely impacted medical practice.[858]

With a few important exceptions, modern scholarship has propagated the myth that opening bodies was a spiritual and judicial taboo, an action forbidden by church law in early modern Italy.[859] Instead, Park and Schultz have pointed out that the practice of anatomical dissection grew so widespread during the Renaissance that universities, private doctors, and other institutions that practiced it, such as the Accademia del Disegno, increased the demand for acceptable bodies.[860] Any fear of dissection was born from the very popularity of the study and rumors that such fervor for studying the body

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[857] Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment*, 213-214; Francesco Caprara, "Anatomie esemplari: Un percorso per imagini intorno al *Compianto sul Cristo morto*," in *Rappresentare il corpo*, 165-166; Carlino, *Books of the Body*, 220. For other thematic readings of anatomy practice, from cosmographic to comparative anatomy, see van Delft, "I secoli d'oro," 93-115.

[858] Nancy Siraisi, *History, Medicine, and the Traditions of Renaissance Learning* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 262-263. Likewise, physicians might read but rarely practiced autopsy and anatomies, which were the purview of surgeons, 69-72.

[859] Park, "The Criminal and Saintly Body," 3-8, 15-21. Park, 3, proposed that her work should be understood "to lay to rest the persistent misconception that there was in medieval and Renaissance Europe a deepseated [sic] 'taboo' connected with corpses and the closure of the body." See also Schultz, *Art and Anatomy*, 61-63, who summarized twentieth-century scholarship about importance of a papal bull issued by Boniface VIII in 1299 against the boiling of bodies and a brief issued by Sixtus IV in 1482. Although believed by many historians to indicate the Church's disapproval of anatomical dissection, Sixtus's brief "would have greatly facilitated access to the human body for anatomical research," 63. For the political context that spurred Boniface to issue that bull as well as its ineffectiveness, see Elizabeth Brown, "Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse," *Viator* 12 (1981): 221-269.

[860] Grendler, *Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, 332-34; Park, "The Criminal and Saintly Body," 3-8, 15-21; Carlino, *Books of the Body*, 193-194.

might lead to a shortage of available bodies.[861] Cosimo's facilitation of the study of anatomy in Italian universities can be understood in this context.

The university practice of dissection usually included a public audience and certainly would have been a venue for Danti to witness dissections that he did not perform himself. I quote here at length from Paul Grendler's *Universities of the Italian Renaissance* to present his succinct yet thorough description of the traditional anatomical practice in university settings:

> University statutes of Florence, Bologna, Padua, and elsewhere of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries decreed that dissections (usually called 'an anatomy' or 'public anatomy') should be performed annually in front of students. Both a male body and a female body were to be dissected annually, with advanced medical students required to attend. A professor of medicine read and commented on the required text, the Anatomia Mundini (written in 1316), by Mondino de' Liuzzi (c. 1270-1326). Another man did the dissecting while a third person might point out the relevant parts of the body. The public anatomy was almost always done in January or February because of the lack of refrigeration, and it normally lasted five to fifteen days but could last three weeks or more if flesh was boiled from the bones. A public anatomy illustrated what was written in textbooks and aided student memories.[862]

Thus, anatomical dissections were both conducted by a group and witnessed by a gathering of students and members of the public. Shifts in sixteenth-century practice consisted primarily of changes in the texts used in the anatomy classroom rather than in the format of anatomy lectures.[863]

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[861] These fears led to strict legal limits and requirements for permission in Venice and Rome, Carlino, *Books of the Body*, 190-191. Carlino also notes a persistent fear of contamination and revulsion towards deceased bodies from antiquity through the Renaissance period, 6-7. There was also some fear that vivisection might be conducted by fervent scientists wishing to witness the functioning of organs, see Park, "The Criminal and Saintly Body," 19-21; Roger French, *Dissection and Vivisection in the European Renaissance* (Brookfield and Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 200-210.

[862] Grendler, *Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, 329. See also Giovanna Ferrari, "Public Anatomy Lessons and the Carnival: The Anatomy Theater of Bologna," *Past & Present* 117 (1987): 50-52.

[863] Carlino, *Books of the Body*, 187-213; Grendler, *Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, 334-39.

Such public gatherings contrast with the description of dissection by artists, portrayed as a lonely and gruesome task.[864] Danti described some of the settings in which he performed dissections in a 1562 letter to Duke Cosimo, and these were, indeed, isolated.[865] The documentary record that allows scholars to track the performance of public anatomies does not provide thorough records of anatomical studies conducted by individuals in the convents and hospitals of Florence. Such gaps in the record may indicate lingering ambivalence about the legal or spiritual ramifications of anatomical study conducted by individuals. Beyond the eighty-three solo dissections Danti claimed to have carried out, the others that he witnessed would have taken place in the semi-public settings similar to those depicted in the images that introduced this chapter. Danti's work to perfect his art by opening human bodies also reflected the court's promotion of medical science in Tuscan universities.

The state sanctioned anatomical study. Duke Cosimo revived the university system in Tuscany and facilitated the delivery of anatomical lectures in these universities. Medical innovations, including discoveries of the body's structures and functions, were an important aspect of intellectual performance at Italian courts and Cosimo aspired to establish Florence as a center of such innovation.[866] The duke oversaw the structural organization of both sixteenth-century Tuscan universities, the Studio pisano and the Studio senese, although the connections of these universities to their local governments

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[864] Ascanio Condivi, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, ed. Giovanni Nencioni with essays by Michael Hirst and Caroline Elam (Florence: SPES, 1998) 57.

[865] ASF Otto di Guardia e Balia (see below); Louis A. Waldman, "The Recent Vincenzo Danti Exhibition in Florence." *The Burlington Magazine*, 150 (2008): 686.

[866] Siraisi, "Giovanni Argentario," 163-64; Jonathan Davies, *Culture and Power: Tuscany and its Universities* 1537-1560 (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2009), 83-99; Grendler, *Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, 341.

differed greatly.[867] Jonathan Davies' archival research on the payrolls of these universities demonstrated the persistent presence of anatomical practice at both Tuscan centers of study.[868] Davies particularly noted the duke's close involvement with the University of Pisa, where Cosimo "even attended lectures and degree ceremonies as well as dining with professors."[869] When he reopened the University of Pisa in 1543 with new statutes, Cosimo aimed to establish a pattern of close ties between the Medici dukes and the future administrators and intellectuals who had trained at the university and who would support the court and bring fame to Tuscany through their accomplishments.[870] Pisa had erected an anatomy theater by 1569.[871] As a result of Cosimo's interest in the medical sciences, the practice of anatomy flourished at the University of Pisa in the sixteenth century.[872]

Cosimo invited famous anatomists to hold university chairs in Pisa. He offered Andreas Vesalius a lectureship in anatomy there in the winter of 1543-1544 and later appointed Realdo Colombo chair of anatomy in Pisa in 1545.[873] When he came to the

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[867] Davies, *Culture and Power*, 82-91. The Studio pisano had been named a University by Pope Sixtus IV, see Barbensi, *Pensiero scientifico*, 168.

[868] For administration of the universities, see Davies, *Culture and Power*, 82-99.

[869] Davies, *Culture and Power*, 98, with n73 for archival information.

[870] Grendler, *Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, 74. Cosimo's direct participation in the direction of the Tuscan universities is also apparent in the career of Egnazio Danti, for whom the duke established a chair in mathematics in 1571. In order to install Egnazio, Cosimo eliminated a chair in theology and ousted the scholar holding it at the time; Thomas Settle, "Egnazio Danti and Mathematical Education in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence," in *New Perspectives on Renaissance Though: Essays in the History of Science, Education and Philosophy* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1990), 32-33.

[871] Ferrari, "Public Anatomy Lessons and the Carnival," 72 n76.

[872] Barbensi, *Pensiero scientifico*, 212; Nancy Siraisi, "Giovanni Argenterio: Medical Innovation," 163-164.

[873] Grendler, *Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, 75-75; Barbensi, *Pensiero scientifico*, 212; Jonathan Davies lists the archival records that document Cosimo's personal involvement in the campaign to bring Vesalius to the University of Pisa, in *Culture and Power,* 90 n51. For Realdo Colombo in Pisa, see

University of Pisa, Vesalius had just published his famous *De humani corporis fabrica*, the most thorough and controversial revision of Galenic anatomy since antiquity.[874] Prior to his appointment in Tuscany, he had taught anatomy at the more prestigious medical institution of the University of Padua.[875] Vesalius had met Benedetto Varchi in Padua and wrote to Varchi several times in 1543 and 1544 with expressions of close friendship.[876] Varchi was instrumental in bringing the illustrious anatomist to the University of Pisa, and he presented Cosimo's offer of 800 *scudi* for the lectureship to Vesalius.[877] Upon learning that Vesalius would accept the position, Varchi wrote a sonnet to him expressing delight that he would soon be in Pisa.[878] While Vesalius was in Tuscany, Cosimo

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Caroline Hillard, "Michelangelo and Realdo Colombo," 164-65; Edward Coppola, "The Discovery of the Pulmonary Circulation: A New Approach," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 31 (1957): 51-52.

[874] Andrea Carlino, "Vesalio e la cultura visiva delle anatomie a stampa del Rinascimento," in *Rappresentare il corpo*, 75-81.

[875] Nancy Siraisi, *History, Medicine, and the Traditions of Renaissance Learning* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2007), 33; J. B. deC. Saunders and Charles O'Malley, *The Illustrations from the Works of Andreas Vesalius of Brussels* (New York: Dover Publications, 1973; republication of Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1950), 21-22; Schultz, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy*, 23-25. On Padua's prestige, Grendler, *Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, 334-335.

[876] Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 296-297; L.R.C. Agnew, "Varchi and Vesalius," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 37 (1963): 527-531.

[877] Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 296, cites Andreas Vesalius, *Epistola, rationem modumque propinandi radicis Chynae decocti* (Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1546).

[878] Varchi, *Opere*, 2:867. The sonnet as translated in Agnew, "Varchi and Vesalius," 528:
"My Vesalius, for I count you as mine,/ The world of the minute is clear and you have knowledge of its parts/ Just as He who made it has the greater [world] and you/ Are alone without anyone similar, let alone equal:
"To the Tuscan Duke, no less excellent than you,/ Hearing from me that you will shortly be on the Arno within Pisan borders,/ It was more pleasant and dearer than I can say:
"And he commanded me that I should again write warmly too/ And that I should furnish all/ That was necessary to do the work:
"Journey then, and do us [with] the favor[.]/ Come to make him happy and draw us/ By means of your light from such dark abyss."

encouraged his practice; he sent bodies from Florence to Pisa for the dissection lectures, and even attended a lecture himself.[879]

Prominent anatomists continued to come to the University of Pisa in the 1540s and 1550s. Following Vesalius's lectureship, his former assistant Realdo Colombo held the first chair in anatomy at Pisa until he moved to Rome in 1548.[880] The renowned surgeon Gabriele Fallopio presented anatomical lectures in Pisa between 1549 and 1551, also upon invitation of the Florentine court.[881] Like Vesalius, Fallopio also corresponded with Varchi, who wrote sonnets to him as well.[882] As Katherine Park has asserted, anatomy lectures and demonstrations delivered by prominent scientists increasingly took on the character of civic spectacles, "which dramatized the cultural achievements of the city and its university for the benefit of both locals and foreign visitors."[883] For Cosimo, the presence of famous anatomists at the University of Pisa increased the intellectual prestige of his state.

As an artist, Vincenzo Danti did not participate in or enroll in the Tuscan universities. He did spend time in Pisa, where he stayed with Sforza Almeni in 1563.[884] Time in Pisa provided him access to the quarries on the northern coast. Given his own

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[879] Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 298; Davies, *Culture and Power*, 98.

[880] Hillard, "Michelangelo and Realdo Colombo," 164; Davies, *Culture and Power*, 111; Grendler, *Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, 341.

[881] Davies, *Culture and Power*, 111; Barbensi, *Pensiero scientifico*, 228. As Fallopio was a student of Vesalius, and given Varchi's friendship with Vesalius as well as the sonnets that Varchi addressed to Fallopio, it seems likely that Varchi may have welcomed him to Tuscany, as well, and may even have tendered the invitation as he had for Vesalius.

[882] See Varchi, *Opere*, 2: 849 (Fallopio), 867 (Vesalius). Devlieger, "Benedetto Varchi," 296-297; Agnew, "Varchi and Vesalius," 527-531.

[883] Park, *Secrets of Women*, 167.

[884] See Chapters 1 and 2, above.

interest in dissection, Danti may have witnessed university lectures on anatomy while he was in Pisa in the mid-1560s, although the renowned anatomists of the 1540s and 1550s had moved on to other centers of anatomical study by that time.[885] In Florence, Danti also had access to academic lectures delivered through the chairs of the Studio Fiorentino, through his participation in the Accademia Fiorentina and the Accademia del Disegno and through the connections of his brother Egnazio.[886] Egnazio Danti was appointed chair of mathematics at the Studio Fiorentino in 1571. Thomas Settle has proposed that at least a portion of the lectures that Egnazio presented in this role were delivered to the Accademia del Disegno.[887] All these settings provided Vincenzo access to the kind of intellectual innovations that Duke Cosimo encouraged, from language studies to better understanding the human body through dissection.

In this context of the increasing frequency and visibility of anatomical practice in the sixteenth century, Danti's treatise addressed the interests of his duke. He designed the *Treatise on Perfect Proportions* as a didactic text to provide other artists anatomy-based knowledge that would guide their practice of *disegno*. As a precedent for a text that

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[885] Frey-Vasari, *Nachlass, Neue Briefe*, 3:49: Giorgio Vasari in Florence instructed Francesco Busini in Pisa to give an enclosed letter "a Messer Vincentio Danti scultor Perugino in casa Messer Sforza," 24 May, 1563. In the years 1561-1562 and 1562-1563, Maestro Ponzanelli da Sarzana was appointed to the University of Pisa in the specialty of surgery and anatomy, "chirurgia et anatomia," and received a salary of 150 florins. For the year 1563-1564, Maestro Antonio Venturini da Sarzana received a salary of 150 florins for a specialty in "Anatomia." Venturini remained on the roles of salaried professors through 1584-1585. See Davies, *Culture and Power*, 234-263.

[886] For connections between the Studio Fiorentino and these academies, Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 23-59; Davies, *Culture and Power*, 57-75; Charles Dempsey, "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna during the Later Sixteenth Century," *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 557.

[887] Settle, "Egnazio Danti and Mathematical Education," 24-26, 33; Barzman, "Florentine Accademia del Disegno," 16. Davies, *Culture and Power*, 245, notes that Egnazio Danti received 36 florins in the academic year 1571-1572 for a chair in mathematics, with another 100 florins "'per rescritto del Serenissimo Gran Duca Signore Nostro'." This payment appears in Archivio di Stato di Pisa, Università di Pisa, primo deposito, 175, fols. 9r-15r.

united art and anatomy, both Cosimo and Danti could have looked to the book planned by Michelangelo and to Michelangelo's friendship with Realdo Colombo.[888] After his lectureship at the University of Pisa, Colombo asked Cosimo for permission to remain in Rome, including among his reasons "the supply of available bodies."[889] Although their friendship centered on the practice of anatomy and they shared a fierce curiosity about the workings of the human body, they neither produced a collaborative publication on anatomy nor did either produce a text on anatomy that could be linked to Tuscany. Given Cosimo's interest in the medical practice of dissection and his efforts to associate famous anatomists with Tuscan institutions, the time for a production of an anatomical text linked to the Tuscan universities and drawing on the considerable depth of talent among courts artists seemed ripe in the late 1540s and early 1550s.

For all the fervor for the practice of anatomy in ducal Tuscany, no published text directly tied anatomical innovation to Medici patronage following the state's sponsorship of anatomy lectureships in the 1540s. Those prominent anatomists who had performed dissections and lectured on the internal structures of the body at the University of Pisa moved elsewhere during the 1550s.[890] Realdo Colombo and Gabriele Fallopio, the medical luminaries who had lectured in Pisa, moved on to the more prominent medical faculty at the University of Padua. Just before his death in 1559, Colombo published *De Re Anatomica*.[891] Fallopio published his *Observationes anatomicae* in 1562.[892] Both texts

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[888] Condivi, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 57. Also translated in Laurenza, *Art and Anatomy*, 15-16: Michelangelo "began to discuss [dissection] with Messer Raldo Colombo, a very superior anatomist and surgeon and a particular friend of Michelangelo's and mine."

[889] Translated in Coppola, "Discovery of the Pulmonary Circulation," 55.

[890] The difference between the salary of 800 scudi offered to Vesalius and the 150 that was the annual salary of university anatomists in the 1560s parallels this shift from temporary, celebrity chairs of science to the appointment of lesser-known but long-term lecturers. See Davies, *Culture and Power*, 215-243.

[891] Realdo Colombo, *De re anatomica libri XV* (Venice: Nicolai Bevilaquae, 1559).

were issued by Venetian presses without mention of Medici patronage. This lack of an anatomical text produced during the first two decades of Cosimo's reign represented a void and a challenge that Vincenzo Danti rose to address.

THE STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS OF DANTI'S TREATISE

Vincenzo Danti came from a family of artist-authors, and his educational background had equipped him to compose a lengthy text such as his *Treatise on Perfect Proportions*. He would have been familiar with the composition of written works thanks to his family's production of scholarly manuscripts, from his grandfather Piervincenzo's commentary on Sacrabosco's *La Sfera* to his aunt Teodora's commentaries on Euclid, and including the budding and eventually prolific writing career of his brother Egnazio.[893] Even within an erudite family that had prepared him to become an author, Vincenzo was the first Danti to publish a text in print.[894]

As the title indicates, the "Primo Libro" of Danti's *Treatise on Perfect Proportions* was intended as only the first of multiple volumes, fifteen in total; the

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[892] Gabriele Fallopio, *Gabrielis Falloppii Medici Mutinensis Observationes Anatomicae: Ad Petrum Mannam Medicum Cremonensem: Cum Privilegio Summi Pontificis, Regis Philippi Senatusque Veneti* (Venice: Apud Marcum Antonium Ulmum, 1562).

[893] Daly Davis, "Beyond the 'Primo Libro'," 63. For Danti family writings and publications, F. P. Fiore, "Danti, Egnazio," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* [hereafter DBI], 32:659-663; Giovanna Sapori, "Danti, Girolamo," in *DBI*, 32:663-664; F. P. Fiore, "Danti, Piervincenzo," *DBI*, 32:667; Walter Bombe, "Danti, Teodora," in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1913) 8:383-84.

[894] Egnazio's first publication: *La Sfera Di Messer Giovanni Sacrobosco Tradotta emendata & distinta in Capitoli da Piervincentio Dante de Rinaldi con molte e utili Annotazioni del Medesimo, Rivista da Frate Egnatio Danti* (Florence: Giunti, 1571). Also published in Florence: Egnazio Danti, *La Prospettiva di Euclide, nella quale si tratta di quelle cose, che per raggi diritti si veggono, che con raggi riflessi nelli Specchi appariscono, tradotta dal R. P. M. Egnatio Danti Cosmografo del Seren. Gran Duca di Toscana* (Florence: Giunti, 1573).

majority would have described the forms of the human body. At the conclusion of the first volume of his *Treatise*, which outlined philosophical principles about universal proportion, Danti promised another nine solely on the component parts and mechanical function of the human body. The second volume would focus "in particular on the bones, and in general a brief description of the whole anatomy of the human body," while in the general third volume, "the interior anatomy of the body will be briefly discussed."[895] The remaining volumes on the arrangement of the body, books four through seven, were to present more specific muscular-skeletal discussions organized by areas of the body, such as the fifth, "about the muscles that move the shoulder, arm, and hand." The eighth and ninth volumes would have described the effects of the movements of muscles on the appearance of the surface of the body, and the tenth presented the body's function, "about the positions and true movements."[896] As Bernard Schultz has noted, Danti focused his text on the "intentions" of the human body, the perfect proportions that Nature aimed for but never achieved, with the understanding that the human body was a microcosm of the cosmos. In his explanations of these tenets, Danti asserted knowledge of the human body beyond what could be derived from anatomical texts. The specificity of his knowledge confirms Danti's careful study of the body through dissection.[897] Yet, Danti aimed not to educate artists about the function or forms of internal organs but instead about the effect of internal anatomy on the visual surface, a pursuit modeled on Michelangelo's practice.[898]

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[895] Danti-Barocchi, *Trattato*, 1:269.

[896] Ibid., 269.

[897] Schultz, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy*, 43.

[898] For artists' concerns about the body as opposed to medical anatomists' concerns, see Hillard, "Michelangelo and Realdo Colombo," 165-167; James Elkins, "Michelangelo and the Human Form," 178-182.

Danti based the content of this first book on theories he had honed through his connections to Varchi and to Aristotelian academicians in Florence. Because of its unique status as a published work written by a sixteenth-century artist on the theory of art, his *Treatise on perfect proportions* is perhaps the best known of all of Danti's works in sculpture or text.[899] In the introduction, Danti thanked all those who had been willing to teach him.[900] He published the book just two years after his admission to the Accademia Fiorentina, but, as demonstrated in the last chapter, he had engaged with ongoing theories about art and other popular court discourse through his contact with Varchi as well as other academicians. Danti also derived his important definitions of *imitare* and *ritrarre*, along with many of the Aristotelian tenets of the treatise, from the works of Varchi.[901] Danti's assertions about natural order and about how to negotiate the categories of the universal and the particular appear in Varchi's *Lezzioni* as well as in a variety of his other writings including *Dell'Amore*, *Della natura*, and *Sulla generazione del corpo umano*.[902]

Varchi was not Danti's only source, however. His *Primo libro* represents a weaving together of the standard tenets of art theory from mid-sixteenth-century Tuscany. Sergio Rossi has explored neoplatonic themes in Danti's work and defined

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[899] Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, 25.

[900] Danti-Barocchi, *Trattato*, 1:210. Barocchi's endnotes Danti's claim that he desires to hear the opinion of those men who the world deems "giudiciosi e intendenti" to suggest that, with this line, Danti acknowledged the influence of Varchi's theories, *Trattati dell'arte*, 1:495 n2.

[901] Francois Quiviger, "Benedetto Varchi and the Visual Arts," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institites* 50 (1987): 224; Daly Davis, "Beyond the 'Primo Libro'," 63-70, 72-75; Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, 23-26. For careful tracing of which lines of Danti's treatise can be traced to what theories espoused by Varchi, see especially Barrocchi's endnotes, *Trattati dell'arte*, 1:494-525; Rossi, "Il 'Trattato delle perfette proporzioni,'" 130-134, 139.

[902] Danti-Barocchi, *Trattato*, 1:500-502; Rossi, "Il 'Trattato delle perfette proporzioni'," 131.

Danti's use of philosophical sources as eclectic.[903] Paola Barocchi identified specific passages of the treatise that draw on sources such as Aristotle, Daniello, Vasari, and Dolce.[904] Margaret Daly Davis pointed to the treatise's similarities to the works of Alberti, Vignola, Gauricus, and Galen.[905] Danti may also have borrowed heavily from the artistic theory of Michelangelo, as relayed to him by Varchi, Vasari and Vincenzo Borghini.[906] Michelangelo's biographers ascribe to him the intention to write a treatise on art, and David Summers has read Danti's treatise as a source for Michelangelo's own theory of art.[907] Danti may have had access to an artistic dialogue Michelangelo wrote that was described in a 1562 letter from Annibale Caro to Varchi.[908] As he wrote the treatise in Florence in 1565 and 1566, Danti certainly would have been eager to cultivate the impression that it could be read as a realization of Michelangelo's intention to write such a text, especially given the encomiastic celebration of all of Michelangelo's works within the Florentine academies. The *Treatise on Perfect Proportions* places Danti in the

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[903] Rossi, "Il 'Trattato delle perfette proporzioni'," 132.

[904] Barocchi, *Trattati dell'arte*, 1:494-525.

[905] Daly Davis, "Beyond the 'Primo Libro'," 64-70.

[906] Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, 22-25; "Rossi, "Il 'Trattato delle perfette proporzioni',"128; Jacobs, "Aretino and Michelangelo, Dolce and Titian," 56.

[907] David Summers, "Michelangelo on Architecture," *Art Bulletin* 54 (1972): 146: "From Michelangelo's unrealized intention... arose another project, this time partially realized, Vincenzo Danti's *Il Primo Libro del Trattato delle perfette proporzioni*." Margaret Daly Davis, "Beyond the 'Primo Libro,'" 63, summarizes the relationship between Michelangelo's theory and Danti's treatise: "the possibility, often counted as a near certainty, that it mirrors Michelangelo's ideas." Given Danti's eagerness to demonstrate his familiarity with the Florentine visual, written, and spoken languages as explored in this dissertation, I suggest that if Danti had a connection to Michelangelo, either personally or via access to Michelangelo's papers, he would have described that access. Not mentioning it prevents him from demonstrating himself as Michelangelo's heir. If he doesn't claim direct knowledge of Michelangelo's own writings, I would argue, he probably did not have access to them.

[908] Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, 22-23.

midst of these circles of writers who made it possible for him to draw on so many literary and philosophical sources.

While the assistance of Varchi, Vasari, and other literary figures may explain how Danti mastered the theoretical approaches apparent in his *Treatise*, the completed text, like his sonnets, serves as another clear example of Danti's efforts to assert his voice within the literary circles in Florence. Danti may have prepared portions of the treatise for submission when he applied to join the Accademia Fiorentina.[909] Summers noted that the publication of Danti's treatise coincided with his work on the marble figures for the Uffizi testata. He proposed that Danti may have written and dedicated this treatise to Cosimo in order to prompt the duke to provide the marble for the central figure.[910] The treatise may have helped him achieve any of these goals. More importantly, it showcases his determined efforts to contribute to the intellectual activities of the Florentine court.

Although other Renaissance anatomists had noted that they sought spiritual knowledge of the Creator and Nature through the practice of anatomy,[911] Danti defined the main argument of his treatise as an explanation of proportion that was intended to guide the reader's practice of *disegno*. His first book is almost entirely philosophical, about universal balance and ideal proportions, but his description of the contents of future volumes confirms Schultz's conclusion: while rooted in theory, Danti recounted anatomical knowledge gained from practice.[912] Danti asserted his didactic goals in the

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[909] Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, 24; Reilly, "Drawing the Line," 26-28.

[910] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 170. See Chapter 3 for the persistent momentum on the Uffizi figures.

[911] Van Delft, "I secoli d'oro dell'anatomia," 94-103; Nancy Siraisi, "Signs and Evidence: Autopsy and Sanctity in Late Sixteenth-Century Italy," in *Medicine and the Italian Universities*, 356; Nancy Siraisi, "Vesalius and the Reading of Galen's Teleology," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997): 3-5, 19-23.

[912] Bernard Schultz, *Art and Anatomy*, 42-44.

prefatory letter and also acknowledged that he had received assistance in his study of proportion, especially in the sciences.[913] Danti's brokerage network would have connected him to the premier philosophers and scientists at court, and he produced this text in the language of the Florentine vernacular that was promoted by the Accademia Fiorentina. He intended that his treatise would share that learning with others, specifically teachers and students of the art of *disegno*.

Although the following volumes have been lost, if they were ever completed in manuscript form, other sixteenth-century texts can suggest their contents. The additional volumes, with their focus on the systems of the body, likely would have provided some evidence of Danti's practical approach to anatomical study. Without those volumes, we are also missing any didactic passages about the application of that study to the creation of art. Nevertheless, a book by his brother, Egnazio Danti, suggests some of the contents of those lost volumes, as Margaret Daly Davis has identified. In his concise scientific encyclopedia, *Mathematical Sciences Reduced into Tables*, published in Bologna in 1577, Egnazio summarized the theoretical content of later volumes.[914] *Mathematical sciences reduced into tables* consists of brief summaries of major scientific disciplines, such as the study of the winds or ancient and modern units of measure. Egnazio

[913] Danti-Barocchi, *Trattato*, 213-214: "E per vero dire, se bene la poca pratica che io ho negli studii delle migliori scienze mi ha più d'una volta fatto rivolgere l'animo et il pensiero ad altro, e quasi tornare in dietro; mi ha nondimeno dall'altro lato dato tanto d'ardire quella poca pratica ch'io ho dell'arte, e lo studio particolare che ho fatto dintorno a questo soggetto, che, confidato nell'aiuto di coloro che in alcune cose supliranno amorevolmente il mio difetto, mi sono messo animosamente a seguire questa impresa."

[914] Egnazio Danti, *Le scienze matematiche ridotte in tavole* (Bologna: Compagnia della Stampa, 1577), 56, tavola 44; Daly Davis, "Beyond the 'Primo Libro,'" 63-68. Some scholars have speculated that the volumes may have been drafted and left either to Egnazio or to their nephew Giulio, son of their brother Girolamo, along with Vincenzo's other papers upon his death in 1576. Giulio later inherited Egnazio's papers. Those were later offered for sale to the mathematician Bernardino Baldi; see Francesca Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 260 n16. Fiorani persuasively posited that the sale never took place. Their current location is unknown.

organized these summaries in *tavole*, one-page organizational charts. Each *tavola* includes paragraphs of text, representing the subdivisions of that field of learning; these paragraphs are connected by brackets to indicate their organization and relationship to one another within that science. *Tavola* 44, "On Painting and on sculpture taken from the fifteen books on the art of *disegno* by Vincenzo Danti," summarizes Vincenzo's art theory as it would have appeared in the rest of his treatise on proportion. The table divides painting and sculpture into subgenres, and it outlines theories of vision and the components of good *disegno*.[915] Although Egnazio organized this table to reflect artistic training and production, the *tavola* reveals nothing about Vincenzo's own practice of anatomy beyond describing dissection as a fundamental component of training in the arts.[916]

While Danti's emphasis on anatomy conforms to the interests of the duke and theories developed in Florentine academies, the total fifteen volumes he planned to publish would have been a more lengthy text than any Renaissance artist-anatomist had yet produced.[917] Although the publisher for Danti's *Treatise* is unknown, the frontispiece states that this first volume was published in Florence in 1567 and includes a woodblock print of the Florentine skyline (Fig. 35). Danti's "First Book" included no illustrations, nor did it suggest that the later volumes would include illustrations. Scientific anatomical texts that were published in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries generally did include

[915] Daly Davis, "The 'Primo Libro,'" 64-66; Danti, *Le scienze mathematiche*, 56.

[916] Danti, *Le scienze mathematiche*, 56: "...senza ritrarre dal naturale disegna di fantasia ciascuna parte del corpo bene proportionata, avendo fatto prima gran fondamento nella notomia e grandissima pratica nel ritrarre le cose buone."

[917] The first volume was sixty-six pages in length. At a total of about 900 pages for all fifteen volumes, it still would have been shorter than Vasari's *Vite*.

woodcuts and engravings of the opened body, including texts by Vesalius.[918] Danti apparently aimed to achieve its didactic purpose through prose description alone. As with his visual work, Danti rooted this treatise on proportion in the context of Florentine history, artistic practice, and interests of the Medici court.

THE TRADITION OF DISSECTION PRACTICE AMONG TUSCAN ARTISTS

Visual artists from Tuscany had been exploring the interior of the human body and its exterior surfaces for nearly two centuries by the time Danti composed his treatise. Cennino Cennini, in his fourteenth-century handbook for artists, briefly mentioned human anatomy when he noted that the male torso included one less rib than that of the female on the left side, a reference to biblical Creation. He added, "A man has ___ bones in all," but never completed the figure for the total individual bones in the human body.[919] Although Cennini considered knowledge of the human body an important aspect of artistic education, he apparently never opened female and male bodies to investigate the differences he described.

For fifteenth-century artists interested in the structure of the human body, the concern was to understand the structure of the skeleton and muscles. Leon Battista Alberti asserted that artists must know how the forms of the human body are interconnected and that they should be familiar with the structure of the skeleton.[920]

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[918] Laurenza, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy*, 6-8, 19-25; Carlino, *Books of the Body*, 8-68.

[919] Cennino Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte*, ed. Fabio Frezzato (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 2003), 118; Schultz, *Art and Anatomy*, 28; A. Hyatt Mayor, *Artists and Anatomists* (New York: The Artist's Limited and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1984), 46.

[920] Schultz, *Art and Anatomy*, 27-32; Jane Andrews Aiken, "Leon Battista Alberti's System of Human Proportions," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980): 76, n. 32.

Knowledge of these anatomical structures allowed artists to dress the human body realistically in skin, just as they would dress the nude figure in clothing, an idea expressed by Alberti in *De pictura*.[921] Lorenzo Ghiberti, too, advised artists to have seen a dissection as part of their training and to learn the number bones of the human body so that they might portray it proportionately.[922] Their emphasis on knowledge of the body does not suggest that Alberti or Ghiberti conducted dissections themselves. It does indicate a growing interest in the relationship between the interior arrangement of corporeal parts and exterior evidence of that structure as artists could represent it, an interest evident in the print of the *Battle of the Nudes* by Antonio Pollaiuolo (Fig. 36).[923] As Domenico Laurenza has noted, this print documents close study of the body for a specifically artistic purpose, in contrast to fifteenth-century medical prints of the body, which focused on the abdomen and interior rather than the arrangement of the muscles.[924] Here, Pollaiuolo represented a series of nude male bodies, each rotated at a different angle and with at least one arm raised to reveal the muscles of the torso. By depicting so many points of view, Pollaiuolo showed the entire muscular system as seen on the

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[921] Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting and On Sculpture, The Latin Texts of De Pictura and De Statua*, ed. and trans. Cecil Grayson (New York: Phaidon Press, 1972), 74-75. In *De statua*, 128-129, he asserts that painters must know the parts of the bodies they depict as shipbuilders know the component parts and forms of the ships they construct.

[922] Julius von Schlosser et al., *The Commentaries of Lorenzo Ghiberti* (London: Courtauld Museum of Art, 1948-1967?), 6; Julius von Schlosser, *Leben und Meinungen des florentinischen Bildners Lorenzo Ghiberti* (Basel: Holbein-Verlag, 1941), 170; Schultz, *Art and Anatomy*, 36, 208 n73; Mayor, *Artists and Anatomist*s, 48. Piero Morselli, "The Proportions of Ghiberti's St. Stephen: Vitruvius' De Architectura and Alberti's De Statua," *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 236-241, drews a connection between the Ghiberti and Alberti when he argued that Ghiberti drew on Alberti's writings on sculptural proportions in the creation of his statue of *St. Stephen* for Orsanmichele.

[923] Shelley Langdale, *Battle of the Nudes: Pollaiuolo's Renaissance Masterpiece* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2002), 37-40.

[924] Laurenza, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy*, 7-9; Langdale, *Battle of the Nudes*, 38, notes that all muscles are flexed at once, which implies close study of living bodies.

surface of the body. In his *vita* of the artist, Vasari asserted that Pollaiuolo had conducted dissections, although recent scholars argue that Pollaiuolo more likely observed the exteriors of living bodies and ancient statuary with close attention.[925]

From this early Renaissance interest in structure and proportion of the body, exploration of the human body by means of anatomical dissection began to be practiced by the most famous Tuscan artists of the next generation. Leonardo's practice of anatomy has been extensively explored by modern scholars.[926] His notebooks record his explorations of the interior of the human body, as well as his opening of the bodies of animals.[927] Leonardo received access to space and bodies for anatomical study at the Florentine hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in 1507 or 1508.[928] On a folio now at Windsor Castle, Leonardo depicted the system of veins in a human arm and the organs of an old man who had died at the hospital. On the verso of this sheet, in text adjacent to these drawings, Leonardo described the death of this man and the qualities of his aged body:

> ...this old man, a few hours before his death, told me that he had passed one hundred years, and that he was conscious of no failure of body, except feebleness. And thus sitting upon a bed in the hospital of Santa Maria

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[925] Laurenza, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy*, 9.

[926] The bibliography on Leonardo and the practice of anatomy is extensive. See especially Domenico Laurenza, "Figino and the Lost Drawings of Leonardo's Comparative Anatomy," *Burlington Magazine* 148 (2006): 173-179; Domenico Laurenza, *De figura umana: Fisognomica, anatomia e arte in Leonardo* (2001); Martin Kemp, "Dissection and Divinity in Leonardo's Late Anatomies," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 35* (1976): 200-255; Martin Kemp, " 'Il Concetto dell'Anima' in Leonardo's Early Skull Studies," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 115-134; Charles D. O'Malley and J. B. de C. M. Saunders, *Leonardo da Vinci on the Human Body* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1952).

[927] For Leonardo's comparative anatomy, see O'Malley and Saunders, *Leonardo on the Human Body*, 204-212; Laurenza, "Figino and the Lost Drawings of Leonardo," 177-179.

[928] Kemp, "Dissection and Divinity," 200; Kenneth Clark, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle*, rev. ed. with Carlo Pedretti (New York: Phaidon Publishers, Inc., 1969), 3:10-23. Clark connected Leonardo's anatomical practice at Santa Maria Nuova with the artist's deposit of funds to his bank account that was by the hospital. Clark, Drawings of Leonardo, 3:10

> Nuova in Florence, without any untoward movement or sign, he passed from his life.
> And I made an anatomy to see the cause of a death so sweet, which I found to proceed from debility through lack of blood and deficiency of the artery which nourishes the heart and other members.[929]

Leonardo was more interested in discovering the functions and systems of the body as an anatomist than in the application of that knowledge to his painting. He used anatomical texts from antiquity to guide his practice.[930] In his focus on the discovery of the body's functions rather than its proportions and in his production of manuscript notes rather than a pedagogical publication, Leonardo serves as a better exemplar of general sixteenth-century interest in the field of anatomy than as a direct model for Danti's writings, which focused on the application of anatomy to the practice of *disegno*.[931]

Although Leonardo's goals as an anatomist differed from those of Danti, sixteenth-century Florentines were aware of Leonardo's scientific interests through the manuscripts and drawings available to them. Cellini also knew Leonardo's writings on art and theory and likely had some part of a manuscript copy of Leonardo's *Trattato della pittura* in his possession.[932] The manuscript versions of this planned treatise were assembled in the mid-sixteenth century by Francesco Melzi, Leonardo's student and assistant. The text remained unpublished in print until the seventeenth century.[933] Vasari

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[929] Transcription and translation of Clark 19027v from the Windsor collection published by O'Malley and Saunders, *Leonardo on the Human Body*, 300, n.128.

[930] Kemp, "Dissection and Divinity," 200-201, 213-214; Schultz, *Art and Anatomy*, 84-92. Vasari also describes Leonardo's study of Galen as important to his anatomical study; Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 4:34-37.

[931] Kemp, "'Il Concetto dell'Anima'," 134, describes Leonardo's early practice of anatomy as rather typical for the late *quattrocento* and early *cinquecento*.

[932] Claire Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone: A Critical Interpretation with a New Edition of the Text in the Codex Urbinas* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 48; Farago cites Pedretti, *Commentary* 2:395.

[933] Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone*, 17-18; Martin Kemp and Juliana Barone, "What Might Leonardo's Own Trattato have Looked Like? And What did it Actually Look Like up to the Time of the

also described Leonardo's practice of anatomy in his revised 1568 *vita*. He reported that Leonardo had assisted Marcantonio della Torre with the production of a series of anatomical drawings to illustrate Galen's ancient text on anatomy. This *vita* of Leonardo also stated that he had produced a great number of detailed drawings of human anatomy at that time in the possession of his student, the same Francesco Melzi.[934] Vasari also knew of Leonardo's treatise on painting. Without print publication of this treatise, Leonardo's audience for his studies on the intersection of art and anatomy was smaller than that which Danti intended to address. Nonetheless, Leonardo's studies of the human body were known by Danti's contemporaries, and both he and Danti studied human bodies in hospital of Santa Maria Nuova.

The greatest Tuscan model to emulate in the practice of anatomy as well as in the practice of *disegno* was Michelangelo. Vincenzo Danti, in fact, stated in his *Trattato* that study of Michelangelo's works had influenced his own study of proportion. Lione Pascoli, in his eighteenth-century *vita* of Danti, suggested that he had studied with Michelangelo in Rome.[935] The introductory text of his treatise on proportion, in which he claimed such careful study of Michelangelo's works, would have been the place for Danti to claim a direct connection to Michelangelo. Danti made no such claim. Nonetheless, as

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Editio Princeps?" in *Re-Reading Leonardo: The Treatise on Painting across Europe, 1550-1900*, ed. Claire Farago (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 39-40. For the complications of tracing Leonardo's influence in the later sixteenth century, see Robert Williams, "Leonardo and the Florentine Academy," in *Re-Reading Leonardo*, 61-75.

[934] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 4:34-35: "Attese dipoi, ma con maggior cura, alla notomia degli uomini (aiutato e scambievolmente aiutando in questo messer Marc'Antonio della Torre, eccellente filosofo che allora leggeva in Pavia e scriveva di questa materia, e fu de' primi, come odo dire, che cominciò a illustrare con la dottrina di Galeno le cose di medicina et a dar vera luce alla notomia."

[935] Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti perugini*, 138.

demonstrated throughout this project and proclaimed in his introduction, Danti did seek to emulate aspects of Michelangelo's career, including his work as an anatomist.

Michelangelo's anatomical studies began in his hometown. In his 1553 *vita* of Michelangelo, Ascanio Condivi described Michelangelo's early dissections at the church of Santo Spirito in Florence around 1494:

> Michelangelo, to oblige the prior of Santo Spirito..., made a wooden Crucifix. ...He was very intimate with the prior..., who provided him with a room and with corpses for the study of anatomy.[936]

Vasari repeated this description in his 1568 *vita*, and according to these sources, Michelangelo traded work for the opportunity to study bodies.[937] Early sixteenth-century Florentines understood these anatomical studies as an aspect of his artistic training and study.[938] Going beyond the encouragement of Alberti and Ghiberti, Michelangelo opened bodies in order to depict their exterior surfaces more naturalistically.[939] Aaron DeGroft has noted that, in one of his drawings in the Casa Buonarroti, Michelangelo observed

> the distinctions between the insertion points of the muscles on the inner calf (gastrocnemius and soleus inserting into the calcaneus) and on the outer calf (tibialis anterior and peroneus longus.)[940]

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[936] Excerpt and translation from Laurenza, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy*, 15; Condivi, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 14-15.

[937] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 7:146.

[938] Laurenza, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy*, 15, 47 n12.

[939] Elkins, "Michelangelo and the Human Form," 176-178.

[940] Casa Buonarroti, inv. 11f recto (ca. 1520), 10f recto (ca. 1520); see Aaron H. De Groft, Catalog entry # 3, in *Michelangelo: Anatomy as Architecture, Drawings by the Master* (Williamsburg, VA: Muscarelle Museum of Art, College of William & Mary, 2010), 58-59.

This particular drawing was associated with Michelangelo's sculptures for the Medici Chapel. Such careful studies led Michelangelo to depict scientifically accurate musculature in his sculpture.[941]

For Danti and other members of the Accademia del Disegno, Michelangelo's most significant foray into anatomy occurred in Rome. According to Condivi, who had witnessed Michelangelo dissect the body of a young Moor in the church of Santa Agata, the artist's anatomical practice on that day was didactic, as the artist pointed out various parts of the body and showed him "many rare and hidden things."[942] Condivi also described Realdo Colombo in his *Vita* of Michelangelo as a "most excellent anatomist and medical surgeon and close friend of Michelangelo and me."[943]

Several other Florentine artists had practiced anatomy prior to its adoption as part of artistic training organized by the Florentine Accademia del Disegno. Vasari later described the dissection practice of several early sixteenth-century artists in their *vite*. He recounted Franciabigio's anatomical study at Santa Maria Nuova with the physician Andrea Pasquali, and also noted that Rosso Fiorentino had both studied anatomy and prepared an anatomical text for artists.[944] Danti's former *maestro*, Baccio Bandinelli,

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[941] De Groft, in *Michelangelo: Anatomy as Architecture,* 59. According to Elkins, "Michelangelo and the Human Form," 177, Michelangelo's surviving drawings depict about fifty muscular structures that "were so subtle that they had no names in art anatomy or medical anatomy."

[942] Condivi, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 58: "sopra il qual corpo Michelangelo molte cose rare e recondite mi mostrò."

[943] Ibid., 57: "notomista e medico cerusico eccellentissimo ed amicissimo di Michelangelo e mio."

[944] Vasari on Franciabigio: Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 5:196; see also Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling," 440. Vasari on Rosso Fiorentino: Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 5:171; see also Monique Kornell, "Rosso Fiorentino and the Anatomical Text," *Burlington Magazine* 131 (1989): 842-847. For Rosso's collaboration with the surgeon Charles Estienne and illustrator Estienne de Rivière on the 1539/1545 *De dissectione*, see Kornell, "Rosso Fiorentino," 842-844; Mayor, *Artists and Anatomists*, 94.

performed anatomical dissections at the hospital of Santa Maria in the 1540s, as well.[945] This interest among Florentine artists in the study of opened bodies clearly predates the decades during which Danti served the Medici court, although the phenomenon was particularly Tuscan.[946] Vasari praises life drawing in his second edition of *Le vite* and Stefano Pierguidi has identified that this emphasis is particular to Tuscan artists and not evident in Roman drawing practice.[947] Pierguidi attributes the emphasis on drawing from nature in Vasari's *vite* to Borghini, especially the instruction to study "how the bones lie and the muscles and sinews."[948] Anatomy appears to have formed a critical component of this regional focus on life drawing, and Danti's treatise celebrates opened bodies and drawing from life, rooting his text in the Florentine artistic context.

The practice of drawing from nature and from dissections, however, did necessarily not lead to the depiction of anatomically precise bodies in sixteenth-century Florence. The art of *disegno* that was associated with the Florentine academy involved not the replication of nature but, as Danti described in his treatise, the creation of ideal forms based on "universal knowledge" of nature.[949] To look for a direct correlation

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[945] Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere*, 6: 140; Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 6; Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli*, 248, doc. 407.

[946] Stephen Campbell, "'Fare una Cosa Morta Parer Viva': Michelangelo, Rosso, and the (Un)Divinity of Art," *Art Bulletin* 84 (2002): 601: "Florence was the center of this artistic pursuit of anatomical knowledge, an area of expertise that was increasibly identified as the province of artists."

[947] Stefano Pierguidi, "Vasari, Borghini and Drawing from Life," *Master Drawings* 49 (2011), 171-74; Phillipe Costamagna, "The Formation of Florentine Draftsmanship: Life Studies from Leonardo and Michelangelo to Pontormo and Salviati," *Master Drawings* 43 (2005), 274-282, describes how early *cinquecento* workshop culture established this local emphasis on drawing from life. For drawings as records of social and professional relationships, Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 312-314.

[948] Pierguidi, "Vasari, Borghini, and Drawing from Life," 172.

[949] Karen-edis Barzman, "Perception, Knowledge, and the Theory of Disegno in Sixteenth-Century Florence," in *From Studio to Studiolo: Florentine Draftsmanship under the First Medici Grand Dukes*, ed. Larry Feinberg (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1991), 41-42.

between Danti's emphasis on dissection and the physical attributes of the figures he created around the time of the publication of the treatise, in the late 1560s and into 1570s, is to misinterpret the relationship between theory and practice in the *cinquecento*.[950] For example, although Baccio Bandinelli studied anatomy, he created marble figures that were either so smooth and attenuated as to nearly deny the existence of a naturalistic anatomical structure beneath their surface, as in his *Adam* and *Eve*, or with such exaggerated musculature that the figure drew criticism, as in his *Hercules and Cacus*. The sculptures that Danti produced around the time of the treatise similarly show a disjunct between the surfaces of the bodies he sculpted and his practice of examining the interiors of cadavers. To return to the text of the treatise itself, to study anatomy was *ritrarre*, to replicate how a thing looks in nature, while the practice of good *disegno* also called an artist to *imitare*: "to make a thing not only as another has seen the thing to be (when that thing is imperfect) but to make it as it would have to be in order to be of complete perfection."[951]

The objects Danti created around the time he published the treatise give evidence of this gap between knowledge of the forms of the human body and their depiction in sculpture. The marble statue of *Augustus* that Danti carved for the testata of the Uffizi includes little indication of musculature (Fig. 26). The Roman military dress worn by Augustus obscures much of his body. His leather cuirass is reminiscent of the rectangular torsos and similar military garb worn by the figures of the Medici dukes that

[950] On the distinction between anatomical practice and aritistic invention, see Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling," 441-442; Campbell, "Michelangelo, Rosso, and the (Un)Divinity of Art," 601-602. See also Stephen Stephen Campbell, "Counter-Reformation Polemic and Mannerist Counter-Aesthetics: Bronzino's 'Martyrdom of St. Lawrence' in San Lorenzo," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 46 (2004): 100, for "Mannerism as a practice that points to a cleavage between its own processes of making meaning, its own internal theoretical concerns, and the political and religious institutions it is designed to serve."

[951] Translation from Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, 279. Danti-Barocchi, *Trattato*, 241. Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling," 441-442, also describes this distinction

Michelangelo carved for the Medici chapel. The cuirass hints at the forms of pectoral and abdominal muscles, and it includes an umbilicus, but neither that garment nor the exposed lower arms and legs of Augustus carefully describe the structure of muscles beneath the skin. The nude *Venus Anadyomene* figurine that Danti cast for prince Francesco's *studiolo* fully reveals her form (Fig. 22). Her back and torso display some attention to the muscular system, with the depiction of abdominal muscles along the center of her torso and definition of the distinction between the gluteus medius and gluteus maximus muscles in her lower back. Nonetheless, Danti stretched her torso as well as her legs so that the elongated forms seem to defy mathematical systems of human proportion. As Danti worked to perfect the forms he had witnessed through his dissection studies, he manipulated the proportions of the figure. As Karen-edis Barzman summarizes Danti's message to the readers of his treatise, he "gave the reader to understand that these relationships were not to be measured with instruments; rather, they were to be discerned by the academic eye, the eye of a trained intellect."[952] Danti had built his knowledge of *disegno* through the study of bodies, but his sculptures did not replicate those bodies.

Two undated objects made by Danti give more direct evidence of his practice of studying cadavers. The bronze *Deposition* relief panel (Fig. 37), now in the National Gallery, shows the limp body of Christ suspended on sheets of cloth as it is being lowered from the cross. Danti would have known how a cadaver behaves when moved based on his own experience moving bodies or watching their transportation for anatomical study. In this relief, Christ's left arm and wrist twist around toward the background, and his body nearly topples forward. Because the scene is a holy one,

[952] Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 168. She cites Paola Barocchi, *Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento*, 1769-70, and Charles Dempsey, "Review of *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* by David Summers," *Burlington Magazine* 165 (1983): 626.

however, Danti prioritizes narrative and pathos over the depiction of the four men who carry the weight of the body. Danti created another relief panel, this one a double-sided oval in marble, which includes a partial skeleton along the lower left edge of the recto (Fig. 38). Only two-thirds of the skeleton, its head, torso, and pelvis, appear in the relief below a seated figure of the Madonna, who holds the Christ child reclining in her lap. As a *memento mori*, the size of the skeleton closely approximates the size of the Christ child, and it reclines against the bottom curving edge of the relief in a posture parallel to that of the Christ child above. The skull faces the viewer rather turning upwards toward the holy figures. Anatomically, the skeleton has only seven ribs on each side of its ribcage, of which five are attached to the sternum. Thus, we can understand this figure as an abbreviated version of the human body, which has twelve ribs on each side of the ribcage, seven of which connect to the sternum. As he did in the *Deposition* relief, Danti minimized the importance of a visual reference to his expertise in dissection. Rather than demonstrate his familiarity with the structure of the human body, Danti prioritized the narrative and devotional qualities of his sculptures, even as he trumpeted his anatomical expertise in his treatise.

The number of anatomical studies Danti claimed to have performed far outdoes those of his predecessors. Vasari wrote that Michelangelo did not perform very many, as the experience made him sick.[953] None of these previous artists had, in fact, named a specific number of anatomies they had performed, probably because none of their studies were published in a text that would have permitted them to put a number to their examinations. Had Danti begun to perform dissections in Perugia at the time he began to

[953] According to Elkins, "Michelangelo and the Human Body," 182, Michelangelo's observations of living bodies most influenced his description of muscles in his art, with the additional knowledge gained from "a few dissections."

receive major commissions, around 1552, he would have studied anatomy for fifteen years before the publication of his treatise in 1567. A starting date around 1552 also would conform to Danti's own claim about his study of *disegno*. In his preface to the *Primo Libro*, he stated that the flower of his youth had nearly passed when he began to practice the art of *disegno* at the age of twenty-two, his age in 1552.[954] To complete eighty-three dissections between 1552 and 1567, as he claims, he would have been opening human bodies at a rate of five to six per winter.[955] The number is likely still an exaggeration, but it is within the realm of possibility. Danti was an accomplished multi-tasker as evidenced by his ability to produce objects and texts simultaneously. So in what contexts would he have been able to conduct such an extensive exploration of the interior of human bodies?

SANTA MARIA NUOVA AND THE ACCADEMIA DEL DISEGNO

As with his poetic writings, Danti crafted his treatise to conform to the interests of the Medici court and the standard practice of artists. In July 1563, the recently-founded Accademia del Disegno instituted a mandatory annual anatomical dissection, to be arranged by the standing consuls and held during the winter months. The addendum that established this practice specified that all members were required to attend and that the lesson would be conducted at Santa Maria Nuova, the major hospital in Florence and a

[954] Danti-Barocchi, *Trattato*, 211: "E per vero dire, a me duole infinitamente non più per tempo della mia età essermi di esercitare il disegno risoluto: conciossia che, avendo gia passato ventidue anni e quasi il fiore della mia prima giovanezza quando, mediamente la cognizione e grandezza di tant'uomo, ad attendere a quest'arti et all'imitazione di lui mi disposi."

[955] The practice may have begun in his early trips to Florence, when he was associated with Bandinelli's workshop, a possibility that builds an even stronger case for his training and professional orientation as particularly Florentine.

center for surgical training.[956] It also clearly stated that the "Anathomia" contributed to the Academy's pedagogical purpose:

> Additionally, we want that those consuls who will be in office during winter will be held and must obtain that an anatomy be performed in Santa Maria Nuova for the benefit of the young ones of the Arte del Disegno, to which event all must be called by the order of those consuls.[957]

At the time, Danti was considered one of these younger artists.[958] He had enrolled in the Accademia del Disegno in its first year, on November 14, 1563.[959] That winter was the first both for Danti's new status as an academician and for the Accademia's newly-established annual practice. By sponsoring a dissection the Academy put its pedagogical ideals into practice, demonstrating their belief that performing studies of the human body in the model of Michelangelo "would provide the academy's seventy-five members with a means to perfect their own styles."[960] Danti and his cohort of "young" artists would have witnessed the first anatomy lesson at the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova for this institution of artists in the winter of 1563-1564.

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[956] Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 163. See also her appendix of documents, from BCNF Magl. II.i.399, fols. 45r-56v; and eighteenth-century copy, Kunsthistorischen Institute, LA 411 "Rariora," fols. 8v-14v. For Santa Maria Nuova and anatomy, Ciuccetti, "Lo spedale di Santa Maria Nuova," 24.

[957] Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 233: part of Capitolo II: "Vogliamo etiamdio, che que' Consoli che saranno in ufficio nel tempo di verno, sieno tenuti, e debbano procurare che si faccia in Santa Maria Nuova una Anathomia a benefizio dei Giovani dell'Arte del Disegno, alla quale debbano tutti esser chiamati, per ordine di essi Consoli."

[958] He still fell into that category during his participation in the construction of the catafalque for Michelangelo's funeral in 1564. See Chapter 2 above.

[959] Giovan Battista Fidanza, *Vincenzo Danti, 1530-1576 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1996)*, 57; Zangheri, *Accademici del Disegno*, 101.

[960] Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling," 146; Barzman, *Florentine Academy*,163-164; Waźbiński, *L'Accademia Medicea del Disegno*, 183-196.

Connections between Santa Maria Nuova and artists in Florence dated back to the *quattrocento*, when painters and doctors both belonged to same guild, the Arte dei Medici e Speziali. The hospital had been the principal meeting place of the Compagnia di San Luca, the artists' confraternity, in the early sixteenth century.[961] The hospital was also renowned as a center for surgical anatomical study.[962] Leonardo, Franciabigio, Bandinelli, and later the Accademia del Disegno all conducted their anatomical studies at Santa Maria Nuova. Unfortunately, the location of its sixteenth-century anatomical theater has never been identified, and no documents to indicate what room or portion of the complex may have been used for dissections have come to light thus far. Laura Ciuccetti has identified a cluster of three large, rectangular stone cool tanks, inscribed with the date 1585, in the substructure or crypt of the church of Sant'Egidio, a component of the Santa Maria Nuova hospital complex. Ciuccetti argues that their configuration suggests that they were used to store and preserve bodies earmarked for dissection.[963]

In addition to the pre-existing relationship between artists and the hospital, an interwoven series of social connections united the hospital and the academies of Florence in the early 1560s. The hospital administration was friendly to artists. Isidoro Montauto had been the director of Santa Maria Nuova since his appointment by Duke Cosimo in 1544.[964] The Montauto family later commissioned Alessandro Allori, Danti's colleague in the Accademia del Disegno and Accademia Fiorentina, to paint the family chapel in the

[961] Ciuccetti, "Lo spedale di Santa Maria Nuova," 26.

[962] Ibid., 24.

[963] Ibid., 27.

[964] Lucia Sandri, "La gestione dell'Ospedale: Regolamenti e cariche istituzionali a Firenze tra XV e XVI secolo," in *La bellezza come terapia: Arte e assistenza nell'ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova a Firenze*, ed. Enrico Chidetti and Esther Diana (Florence: Polistampa, 2005), 141.

church of Santissima Annunziata.[965] This neighborhood seems to have been a civic node for the personalities who drove academic innovation in Florence. Benedetto Varchi kept rooms at the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli, in the same block as the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova.[966] The monastery was adjacent to the Piazza Santissima Annunziata, named for the church of the Santissima Annunziata, which housed both the Montauto family chapel and the chapel of St. Luke, where the Accademia del Disegno met and which it decorated. The academy also had an official physician, Alessandro Menchi.[967] Menchi had been appointed to the staff of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in 1557 by Isidoro Montauto. In addition to his ties to the arts academy and the hospital, Menchi was also Benedetto Varchi's nephew, and Varchi composed at least one sonnet to him.[968]

Through the academy and its relationship with Menchi and the hospital, Danti would have had institutional ties to facilitate his anatomical practice. His study of anatomy in Florence, however, predated these relationships. Danti was enacting the pedagogical tenets of the Accademia before they had been formally established. In 1562, Danti wrote directly to Duke Cosimo to request access the bodies of executed criminals for study at Santa Maria Nuova:[969]

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[965] Marco Ruffini, *Art without an Author: Vasari's Lives and Michelangelo's Death* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 58-63; Elizabeth Pilliod, *Pontormo, Bronzino, Allori: A Genealogy of Florentine Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 146-150; Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, *Alessandro Allori* (Florence: Umberto Allemandi & C., 1991), 41.

[966] Charles Davis, "La 'Madonna del monasterio degl'Angeli'," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 168-69.

[967] Menchi was nominated to that role by Vincenzo Borghini. Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 188. Borghini and Isidoro Montauto were also friends. See Sandri, "La gestione dell'ospedale,"142.

[968] Barzman, *Florentine Academy*, 335 n93. For the sonnet with Menchi's reply in tenzone format, see Varchi, *Opere*, 2:972.

[969] ASF Otto di Guardia e Balìa del Principato 2241 (1562) n. 162; published by Louis A. Waldman, "The Recent Vincenzo Danti Exhibition in Florence," 686.

Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord Duke.
I know that to your Excellency it is known that, for the art of sculpture and painting, the practice of Anatomy is necessary and, because I among others greatly need this art, I ask the grace of your Excellency that there would be made available to messer Lorenzo Corboli or to me some executed corpse; and it would be enough to have space in the temple [tenpio] where they are buried, if it would be difficult to remove them from that place. In other years I was served (in this need) at Santa Maria Nuova, but truly it happens rarely that there are subjects available that are good; wherever it is, if your Excellency grants me these bodies, I will be greatly satisfied and content and you will see one day, as pleases God, that these my efforts will not perhaps be thrown out, save by a small convenience that I hope from you, and these and of other related things of mine, that I am certain at least in part you will be satisfied by me. And with this end I pray that God adds to your joys, from Florence, the 27th day of October of '62.
Of your most Illustrious Excellence

Humblest servant
Vincentio Danti[970]

This letter demonstrates that Danti could approach the duke directly with a request for bodies. It indicates no fear about the legality of former or future practice of dissection in the city of Florence and also attests to his experience in such practice there. Indeed, he considered such studies necessary to the production of painting and sculpture. Danti informed the duke that he had already performed anatomical dissections at the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, but that the bodies at the hospital were not good for such study. His experience of opening the bodies of older, unidentified patients must have been akin to that of Leonardo. For Leonardo, the anatomy of a dying old man revealed the capacity and failures of an aged body, but for Danti such older bodies were less useful as his study was meant to improve his rendition of ideal human forms. Danti stated that his goal was to improve his art, a goal which he was sure would please the duke.

Danti reached out to yet another part of the state administration for his anatomical study. He informed the duke that Lorenzo Corboli, who appears to have been associated

[970] Translation my own.

with justice and the Otto di Guardia, would be willing to help Danti with these bodies. Corboli was also the court official informed when escaped fugitives were located in other cities.[971] In 1564, Cosimo also wrote to Corboli with the suggestion that they increase the population of the island of Giglio by sending convicts there.[972] The rescript to this letter was addressed not to Danti but to Corboli, who was instructed to grant access to Danti "for the practice of sculpture when there is an occasion."[973] Samuel Edgerton has noted the Florentine practice of releasing the bodies of executed criminals to doctors and artists.[974] Between Danti's arrival in 1557 and the publication of his treatise in 1567, eighty-two criminals were executed in Florence.[975] Despite the seemingly tidy correspondence between these eighty-two executions and Danti's claim to eighty-three dissections, he issued this first request for bodies in 1562. The Medici administration executed thirty-seven criminals between 1562 and 1567. However, given Danti's late request (October 1562) and the spring dedication of his book (April 1567), even if he had received every one of these bodies they would not account for half of the eighty-three dissections Danti claimed to have performed.[976] The letter he wrote to Cosimo attests that Danti had already been conducting anatomical studies in the hospital of Santa Maria

[971] ASF Mediceo del Principato 515, fol. 264, (Medici Archive Project Document ID 20051). This letter, from Antonio Cristofani to Prince Francesco, April 16, 1565, reports that Corboli had sent him after a fugitive who had escaped to Forlì.

[972] ASF Mediceo del Principato 220, fol. 63, (Medici Archive Project Document ID 17244).

[973] ASF Otto di Guardia e Balìa del Principato 2241 (1562) no. 162; Waldman, "The Recent Vincenzo Danti Exhibition in Florence," 686. Translation my own.

[974] Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment*, 159-160.

[975] Ibid., 238, for numbers of criminals executed during Danti's time in Florence.

[976] Ibid., 238.

Nuova. Although his claim seems to stretch credibility, it may in fact have been possible for him to conduct such thorough studies of the interior of the human body.

What distinguishes Danti among to artist-anatomists in Florence is his published work rather than the practice itself. Patricia Reilly has suggested that Benedetto Varchi, in partnership with the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia Fiorentina, promoted the project of an anatomical text for artists, the fulfillment of Michelangelo's purported planned text.[977] She looked to the near-simultaneous production of didactic treatises on *disegno*, rooted in anatomy, that were produced by Alessandro Allori, Benvenuto Cellini, and Vincenzo Danti in the mid 1560s, and she speculated that Allori had been encouraged to create such a text for painters while Danti was to compose one for sculptors. She read Cellini's pointed criticism of other texts as his antagonism towards the pedegogical approach espoused by Vasari and practiced by the Accademia del Disegno.[978]

Texts such as those by Cellini, Allori, and Danti may have circulated freely in manuscript form, but only Danti's was published during Cosimo's reign. Danti had long demonstrated his willingness and desire to participate in the intellectual life of Florentine institutions. Yet, he was the only artist-anatomist to produce a printed text on this Florentine interest in anatomy and in-person studies of the human body. In order to build his authority in this field, Danti had applied directly to the duke to advocate for his own access to the kinds of bodies that would further his artistic practice. He also seems to have benefitted from his connections in both the Accademia Fiorentina and the Accademia del Disegno in the creation of this text. When it was published, Danti's treatise moved beyond this small circle of allies in the academies to a wider audience. In

[977] Reilly, "Drawing the Line," 27-32.

[978] Ibid., 37-43.

the twentieth century, it was closely studied as evidence of Michelangelo's theory of *disegno*. Yet, in his letter to Cosimo, Danti did not need to reference Michelangelo's anatomical practice to justify his own. Instead, this exceptional text demonstrates Danti's ongoing efforts to root his art in the cultural context of the Florentine court beyond the emulation of a single figure. The publication of his *Treatise on Perfect Proportions* indicates that he successfully set himself apart as uniquely capable of contributing to Cosimo's cultural program.

Conclusion

In 1573, Danti returned to Perugia. Vasari was in Rome when Borghini wrote to him to report Danti's departure.[979] Borghini recounted that he had heard Danti had left Florence in order to marry.[980] These two main patrons of Danti's success were aging, and Borghini's letter indicates their concerns about health and commemoration. Cosimo, too, had been struggling with ill health, and Francesco was increasingly directing the artistic priorities of the court. As was made clear in the appraisal of Danti's sculptures for the Uffizi, Francesco was skeptical both about Vasari's role as an administrator and also about his favoritism for certain artists such as Danti. Furthermore, Francesco favored Giambologna as a sculptor.[981] During the 1570s and through the rest of the sixteenth-century, Giambologna, his students, and workshop dominated the production of sculpture in Florence.[982] Francesco also denounced Egnazio Danti to the Dominican order in 1572.[983] Although del Badia later described Francesco's anger as so intense that he requested Egnazio's head on a pike, Egnazio remained at the convent of Santa Maria

[979]Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 2:783-84 (8 May 1573). The letter is filled with concerns about aging. Borghini discussed the terms of his testament as part of what appears to be an ongoing conversation about how to distribute their possessions. He reported that the Duke was in such poor health that Borghini was not going to see him. In the same letter, Borghini also responded to a question Vasari had posed on May 1 about the epitaph he was planning for his own tomb, for which see Vasari-Frey *Nachlass*, 2:781-82.

[980] Vasari-Frey, *Nachlass*, 2:784: "Il Perugino sen' è ito à Perugia et non so quelche io m'habbia sentito buzzicare di moglie." (The Perugian has left for Perugia and I don't know whether I have heard to make his way to a wife.) Adriano Politi, *Dittionario Toscano* (Venice: Barezzi, 1647), 115-116, defines *buzzicare* as "muoversi pian piano per non strepito" (to move oneself slowly so as not to make noise).

[981] Malcolm Campbell and Gino Corti, "A Comment on Prince Francesco de' Medici's Refusal to Loan Giovanni Bologna to the Queen of France," *The Burlington Magazine* 115 (1973): 507-512.

[982] Pope-Hennessy, *Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, 3:143: "In Florence, the future lay not with Vincenzo Danti, nor Ammanati, nor Vincenzo de' Rossi, but with a young Fleming, Giovanni Bologna."

[983] Davis, "La 'Madonna del Monasterio degl'Angeli'," 186.

Novella until 1575 when he was transferred to Bologna.[984] Whether or not Vincenzo Danti anticipated these changes in his brokerage network, he left Florence at the same moment that his fortunes as an artist-client probably were shifting. Vasari and Cosimo both died the year after he returned to Perugia.

Once in Perugia, Danti did marry.[985] The same year, the city priors appointed him architect of the city for a term of five years and the Perugian Accademia del Disegno was founded.[986] In his role as city architect, Danti oversaw the architectural renovations to the Palazzo dei Priori and designed the church of the Compagnia della Morte.[987] Along with his brothers, Vincenzo was also instrumental in the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno. Following his death, deliberations about the appointment of the next city architect asserted that this new appointee should, like Vincenzo, "also be an academician."[988] His brother Girolamo and his father Giulio had remained active in Perugia and were probably members of the academy. Although still in Florence, Egnazio also dedicated his 1573 text, *La Prospettiva di Euclide*, to the members of the Perugian arts academy, and he was likely a member as well.[989]The coinciding events of Vincenzo's

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[984] Del Badia, *Egnazio Danti*, 621-631; Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 155-156.

[985] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 320-321, noted that Angela Crisostomo was mentioned in Vincenzo's testament as his wife, when he died in 1576. For Vincenzo's five-year appointment as city architect beginning July 20, 1573, 488-491.

[986] Fidanza, "Vincenzo Danti architetto," 399.

[987] Fidanza, "Vincenzo Danti architetto," 399-401.

[988] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 317-318: "In the deliberations following his death in 1576 it was argued by members of the Academy that the position of city architect should be given to one of them since the precedent had been set by Danti, 'anche academico';" Giovanni Cecchini, *L'Accademia delle belle arti di Perugia* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1954): 21-22.

[989] Egnazio Danti, *La prospettiva di Euclide* (Florence: Giunti, 1573), unpaginated preface.

return to Perugia, his appointment as city architect, and the foundation date of the Perugian academy strongly suggest his association with the academy's founding.[990]

The Accademia delle belle arti di Perugia, the institution descended from the Accademia del Disegno, currently houses four plaster casts after Michelangelo Buonarroti's sculptures of the *Times of Day* from the Medici Chapel (Fig. 39).[991] In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources on the academy's collection, these sculptures were alternately recorded as gifts from either Vincenzo or Egnazio on the occasion of the foundation of the academy.[992] In 1570, Egnazio and Timoteo Refati, a Dominican colleague, received permission from Duke Cosimo to make these casts in Florence.[993] Although the documents attest that Egnazio directed the creation of these works, his responsibilities as court cartographer and mathematician and as a university chair almost certainly kept him from delivering the statues to Perugia in 1573.[994] The sculptures probably arrived in Perugia with Vincenzo.

In his dual roles as architect and founding member of the academy, Vincenzo Danti could look to the Florentine career of his friend Vasari. Perugia was a smaller city that was subject to Rome rather than a court capital like Florence, and it may have

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[990] Cecchini, *L'Accademia di Belle Arti*, 11-21, for the cultural climate in Perugia and the Danti brothers' roles there during the early 1570s.

[991] Dimitrios Zikos, "Aurora e Crepuscolo," in *I grandi bronzi del Battistero*, 324, no. 10.

[992] Annibale Mariotti, *Lettere pittoriche perugine* (Perugia: Dalle stampe Badueliane, 1788): 256. For Egnazio as donor, see Serafino Siepi, *Descrizione topologico-istorica della città di Perugia* (Perugia: Garbinesi e Santucci, 1882), 1:259. Also Zikos, "Aurora e Crepuscolo," 324.

[993] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 429-31; del Badia, *Egnazio Danti*, 15n1. Summers suggested that Vincenzo was involved in the creation of these objects, "since he was an experienced sculptor." He identified similarities between Vincenzo's sculptures and the proportions of the bodies of the casts to argue for the sculptor's participation in this project.

[994] Settle, "Egnazio Danti," 30-35; Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 43-54.

offered Danti fewer possibilities for commissions. Summers argued that the move back to Perugia represented "the end of his career as a sculptor."[995] However, Danti had opportunities to influence single-handedly the visual character of the city. Cole has argued that the most valued goal for sculptors working in late Renaissance Florence was to transition from sculptor to architect.[996] From this perspective, Danti had greater opportunities to excel in Perugia as its appointed architect. Along with his architectural projects, he received the commission for a fresco that was to be painted on the interior of the entrance wall at the church of San Fiorenzo. He would have overseen a workshop of assistants for both types of commissions. His role as founding member of the Accademia del Disegno in Perugia also allowed Danti to engage in a pedagogical program, to shape the Perugian artists in the model of *disegno* that Danti himself had studied in Florence and expressed in his *Treatise on Perfect Proportions*. Unfortunately, Danti's death from a fever in May 1576 brought an end to his administration of the arts in Perugia.[997]

The memorial to Danti in the church of San Domenico in Perugia (Fig. 34) brought together his connections to Perugia and Florence. Raffaello Borghini reported that Egnazio Danti paid for this monument.[998] The portrait of Vincenzo on the monument was carved by Valerio Cioli, from Settignano. Having trained with Tribolo, Cioli worked

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[995] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 316.

[996] Cole, *Ambitious Form*, 158-179.

[997] Summers, "Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti," 318; Fidanza, "Vincenzo Danti architetto," 401.

[998] Borghini, *Il Riposo*, 523: "Finalmente godendosi Vincentio la patria con alcune belle Ville, che egli havea presso alla Città si morì d'anni 46 con gran dispiacere di tutti quelli, che il conosceano, e fu sepellito con grande honore in San Domenico nella Cappella di San Vincentio, e de' diecimila Martiri, che è della famiglia de' Danti: e da Frate Ignatio gli fu fatta fare una sepoltura di marmo, sopra la quale è la testa d'esso Vincentio sculpita da Valerio Cioli. Lascerò di dirvi l'Epitaffio latino che vi si legge, & in quel cambio vi reciterò due quadernali, che Piero di Gherardo Capponi (come amatore delle belle parti di Vincentio, e come amico di Frate Ignatio meritevole d'ogni lode) ha fatti sopra dilui, e questo è il primo."

in Rome before Cosimo recalled him to Florence in 1561.[999] Cioli would have known Danti during their time together in Florence, and he had created portrait sculptures for the court prior to this tomb. Borghini attributes the epitaph for Vincenzo to the Florentine author Piero di Gherardo Capponi, a friend of Egnazio.[1000] Capponi's epitaph celebrated Vincenzo's accomplishments in sculpture, painting, and writing.[1001] The monument was installed in the Danti family chapel in the church of San Domenico, where Vincenzo's grandfather Piervincenzo (d. 1512) and his father Giulio (d. 1575) had been buried.

During his time in Florence, Vincenzo Danti constructed a professional persona defined by his dexterity in creating both texts and visual objects. He had worked to participate in corps of artists serving the Medici, and the then distinguished himself through his achievements. He received extensive patronage for his sculpture practice and saw his works installed in prominent Florentine piazzas as well as in the most private spaces used by the Medici princes. He produced texts that touch on disciplines we would now consider quite divergent, but that all grew from the state programme of *fiorentinismo* and the interests of the dukes. The relationships that Danti built with other artists and prominent court servants during his sixteen years in Florence facilitated his professional success. Other than the initial jealousy of Cellini, apparently no sixteenth-century voices objected to his quick rise within the ranks of court sculptors. Indeed, his peers elected him to administrative roles in the Accademia del Disegno nearly every year.[1002] Danti, a

[999] Martin Weinberger, "A Sixteenth-Century Restorer," *The Art Bulletin* 27 (1945): 267-268.

[1000] Capponi later wrote a sonnet about Giambologna's *Rape of the Sabine Woman*. Bury, "Bernardo Vecchietti," 28, 45.

[1001] The first inscription transcribed by Borghini, *Il Riposo*, 523: "I superbi palagi, e i sacri Tempi/ Non sal Vincentio con sua laude eresse/ Ma in bronzi, in marmi, et in colori espresso/ Ciò ch'ei scrisse, ò vid'altri in tutti i tempo." The second inscription: "D'invidia colme, e la scienza, e l'arte/ Per suo bramando il Danti, à gara il seno/ Gli mostrar nudo, ei nel goderle meno/ Venne, hor ha vita in bronzi, in marmi e'n carte."

non-Florentine, accomplished this meteoric rise at a court entranced by its own local visual and linguistic traditions through of the network of relationships that he so carefully cultivated.

Giambologna's rise to fame and his long career in Florence have largely eclipsed the accomplishments of Vincenzo Danti. Most art history surveys, even those that focus specifically on the Italian Renaissance, jump from the sculpture of Benvenuto Cellini in the 1550s to the monuments created by Giambologna in the 1580s. Neglect of the interim decades perpetuates a longstanding tradition of celebrating individual Renaissance geniuses, and it distracts from the collaborative nature of most artistic production at Cosimo's court. Vasari's direction of state commissions required the participation of a wide network of artists who collaborated across media. An individual artist needed to appeal to intersecting networks of artists, authors, courtiers, natural philosophers, medical practitioners and ambassadors in order to find work. Danti negotiated these relationships by building connections to Medici servants across these networks. The princely status of the Medici brought with it the responsibility of maintaining a complex bureaucracy, whose functioning was inseparable from the professional and social ties that bound the participants. These social conditions also shaped the artistic commissions that adorned and brought renown to the court.

Although Danti remains largely unknown to the general public today, his activities in Florence indicate that he more fully conforms to the traditional, multi-disciplinary definition of a successful "Renaissance man" than most of his peers. He received remarkably conspicuous and prominent commissions that attest to the renown he

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[1002] Danti held the offices of consul (1564, 1568, 1570, 1572), chamberlain (1565), counselor (1566), festival organizer (1567), and auditor (1570) Luigi Zangheri, ed., *Gli Accademici del Disegno: Elenco alfabetico* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2000), 100-101.

achieved for a time in grand ducal Florence. Having pursued the Florentine academic vision of a Michelangelesque career, Danti conformed to the expectations of his patrons and brokers while also distinguishing himself from his peers. His tenure at the Florentine court illustrates that the path to success for sixteenth-century court artists could require them to aim for paradoxical goals. Danti sought both to become a part of the local artistic scene and to stand out from it.

Figures

Figure 1. Vincenzo Danti, *Julius III*, 1552-1555, south side of the Cathedral, Perugia

Figure 2. Workshop of Baccio Bandinelli and Giovanni Bandini, Choir Screen, 1546-1572, Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence.

Figure 3. Fountain with Bandinelli coat of arms on base, via vecchia Fiesolana, Fiesole.

Figure 4. Vincenzo Danti, *Honor Conquering Deceit*, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence

Figure 5. Vincenzo Danti, *Honor Conquering Deceit*, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

Figure 6. Comparison of the face of *Deceit*, from *Honor that Conquers Deceit*, with those of Bandinelli in *Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli*, c. 1550s, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.

Figure 7. Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Victory*, c. 1532-1534, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

Figure 8. Baccio Bandinelli, *Hercules and Cacus*, 1532-1534, Piazza della Signoria, Florence.

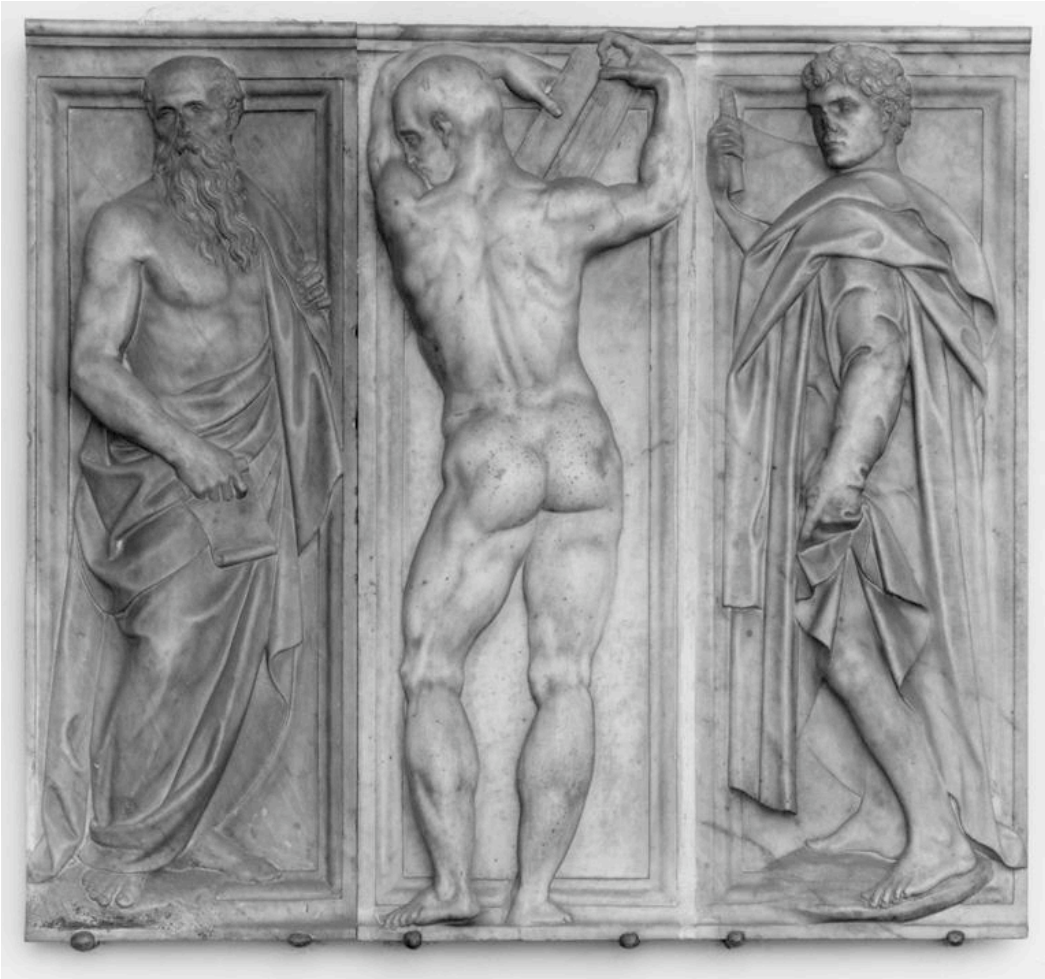

Figure 9. Baccio Bandinelli and workshop, reliefs for the Cathedral Choir, Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence.

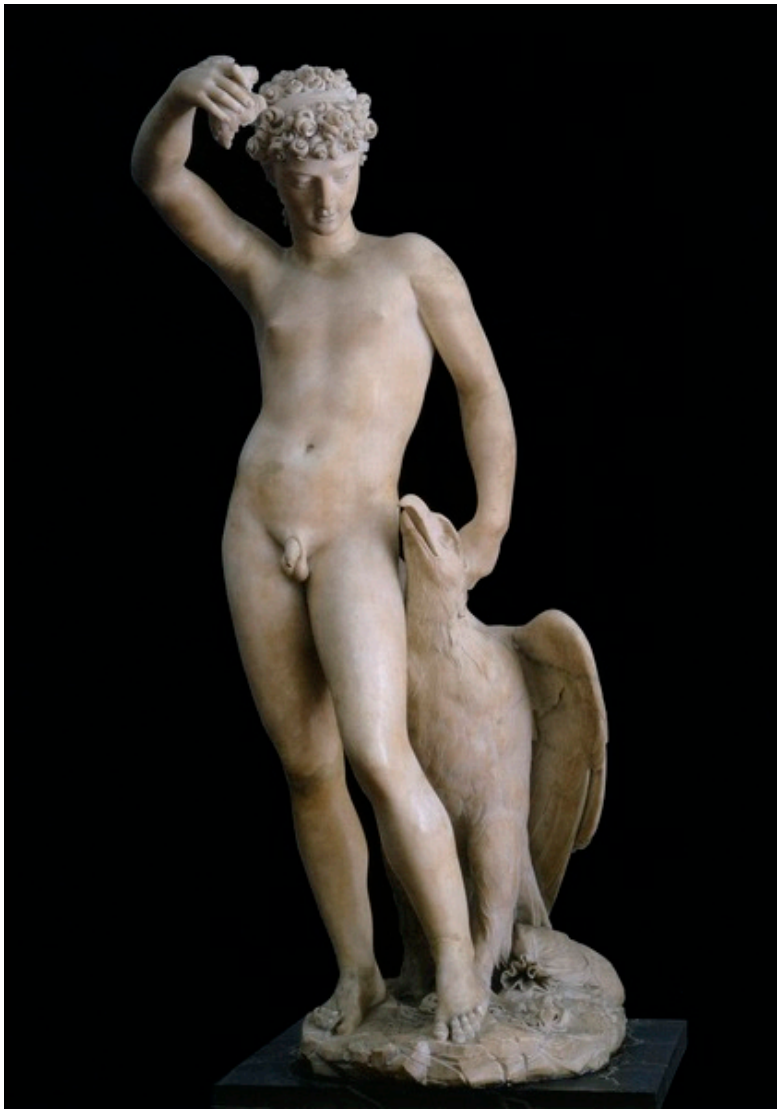

Figure 10. Benvenuto Cellini and workshop, *Ganymede*, 1548-50, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

Figure 11. Vincenzo Danti, *Moses and the Brazen Serpent*, 1559, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

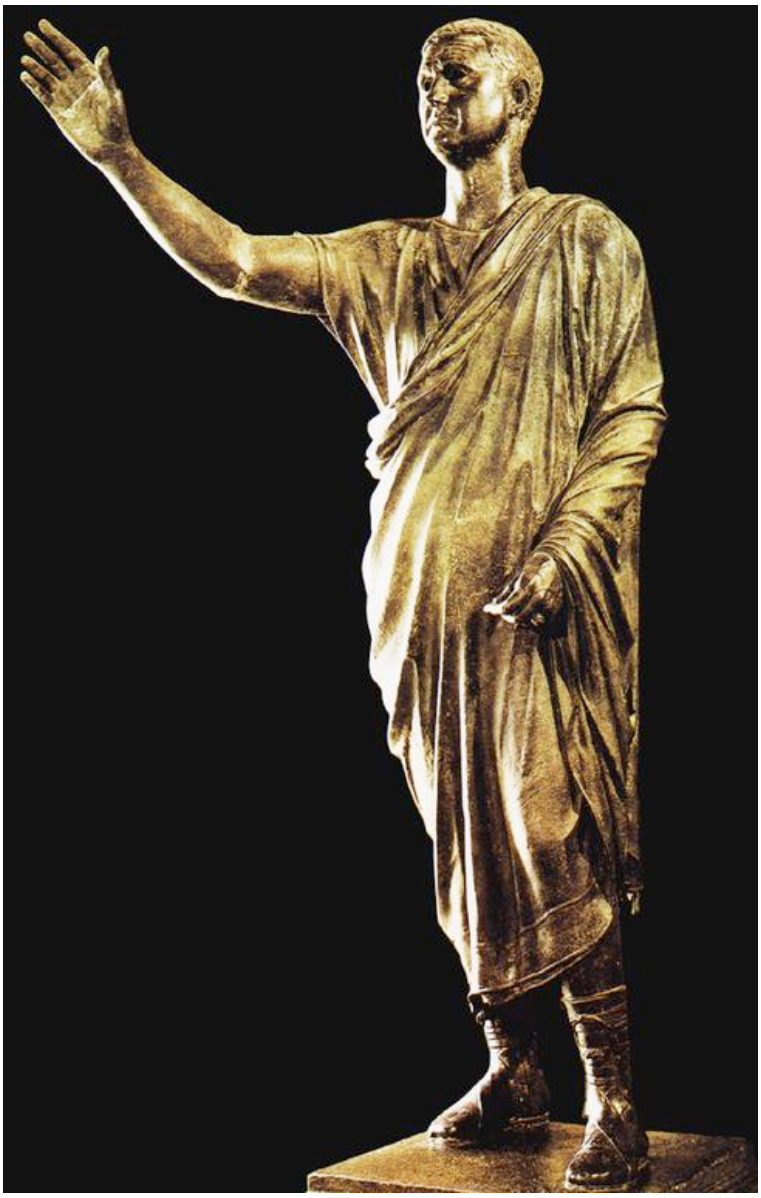

Figure 12. Etruscan, *Arringatore* ("Aulus Metellus"), 1st century BCE, Museo Archaeologico, Florence

Figure 13. Vincenzo Danti, "Sportello" (Bronze safe door), 1559-1560, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence

Figure 14. Vincenzo Danti, *Flagellation*, c. 1559, Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City.

Figure 15. Vincenzo Danti, Tomb for Carlo de' Medici, 1562-1564, Cathedral of Santo Stefano, Prato.

Figure 16. Vincenzo Danti, Portrait relief of Carlo de' Medici, Cathedral of Santo Stefano, Prato.

Figure 17. Vincenzo Danti, Memorial marker for Beato Giovanni da Salerno, 1571-1572, Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

Figure 18. Vincenzo Danti, *Beheading of the Baptist*, 1570-1571, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence.

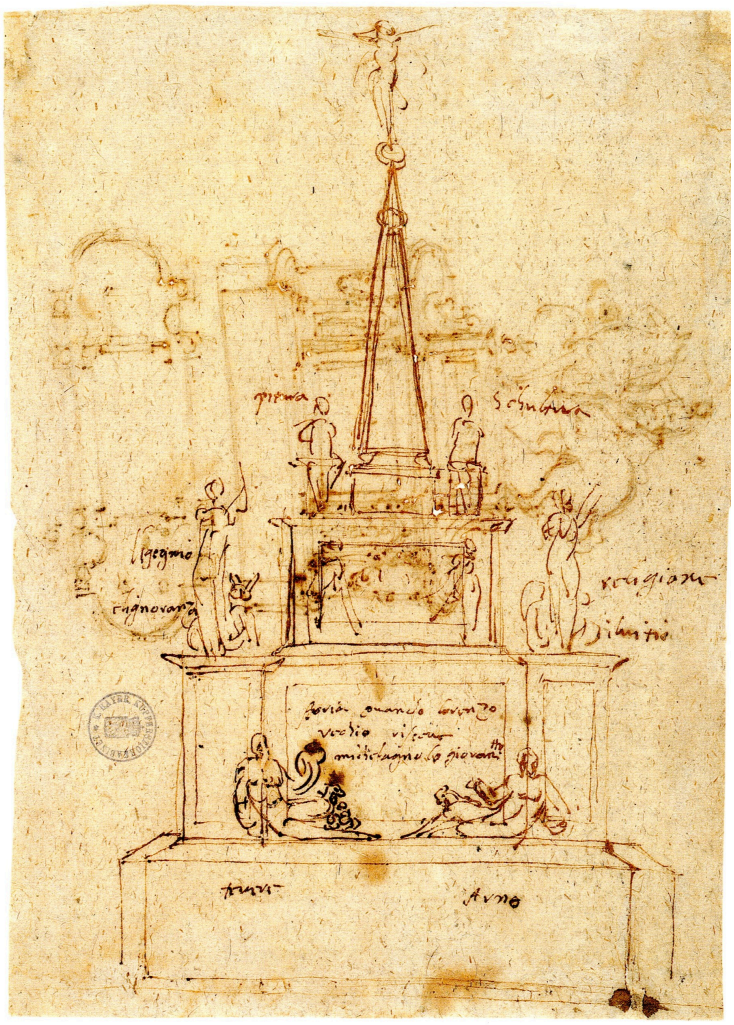

Figure 19. Vincenzo Borghini (attrib.), design for Michelangelo's catafalque, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Inv Nr. 35343b recto, Munich.

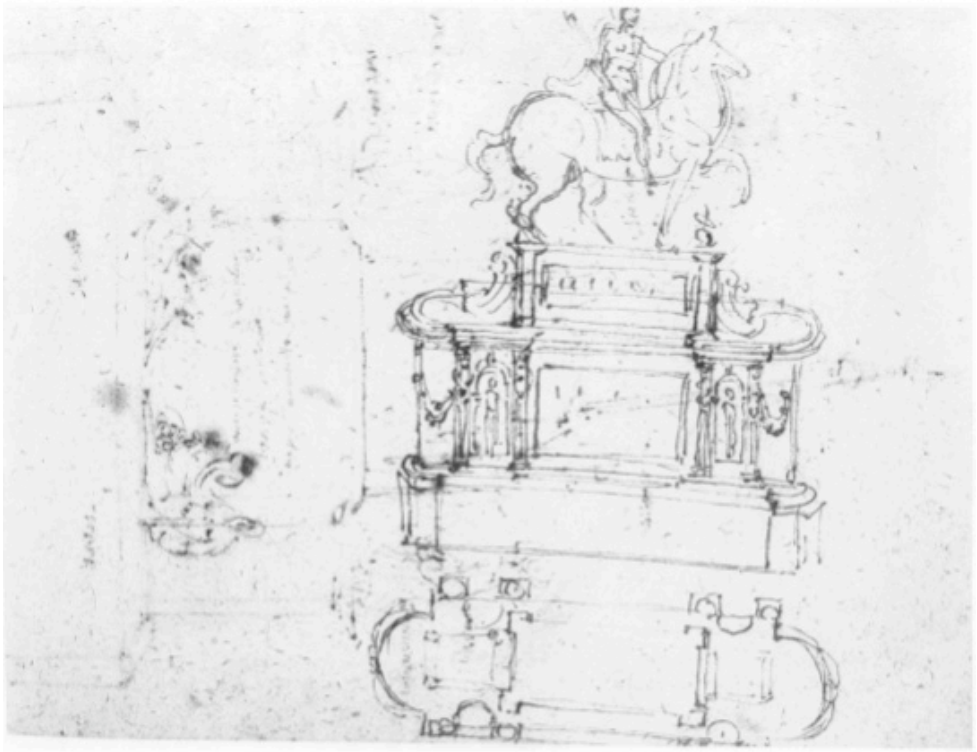

Fig. 20. Vincenzo Borghini (attrib.), design for Michelangelo's catafalque, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Inv Nr. 35343b verso, Munich.

Figure 21. Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

Figure 22. Vincenzo Danti, *Venus Anadyomene*, Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

Figure 23. Eugenio Agneni, *Le ombre dei grandi uomini fiorentini*, Galleria ‘Arte Moderna, Turin.

Figure 24. From left: Niccolò Bazzanti, *Andrea Orcagna*, 1843; Luigi Magi, *Cosimo Pater Patriae*, 1846; Gaetano Grazzini, *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, 1842; Pio Fedi, *Nicola Pisano*, 1849. *Uomini Illustri* sculptures, niches in the Uffizi loggia, Piazzale degli Uffizi, Florence.

Figure 25. Vincenzo Danti, *Rigor* (left) and *Equity* (right), 1564-1566, and Giambologna, *Grand Duke Cosimo I de' Medici*, 1584, Piazzale degli Uffizi, Florence.

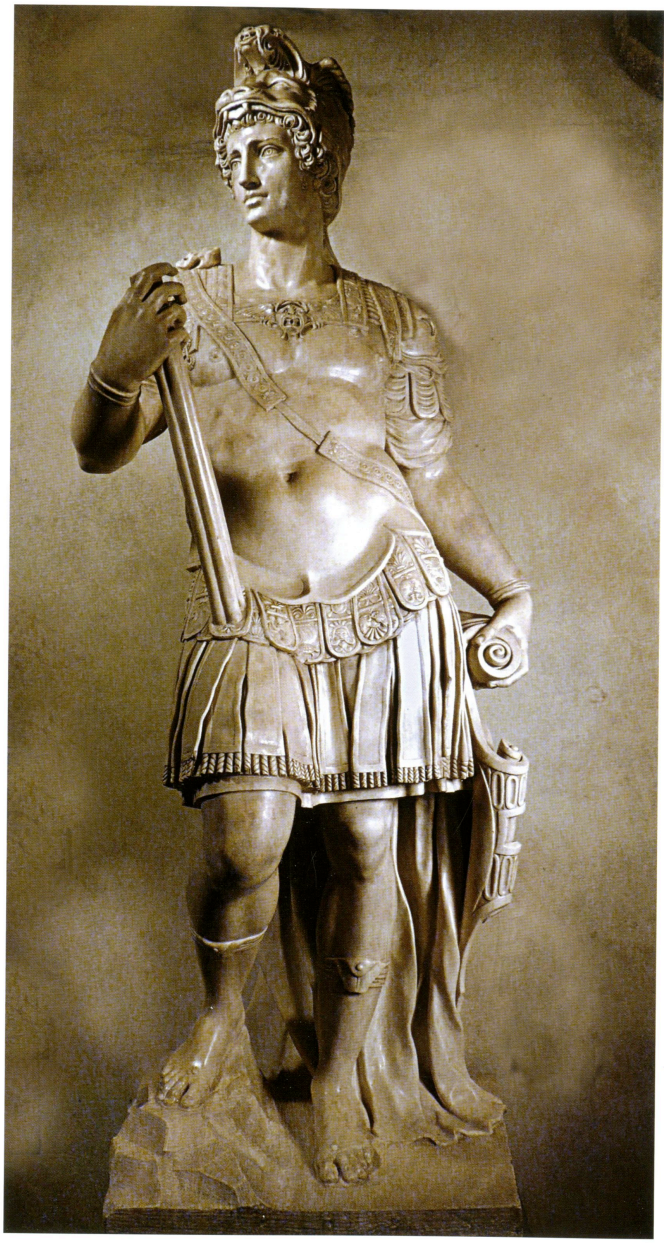

Figure 26. Vincenzo Danti, *Augustus*, c. 1571, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

Figure 27. Vincenzo Danti, *Perseus* (originally seated figure of Cosimo I?), Boboli Gardens, Florence.

Figure 28. Uffizi testata, Piazzale degli Uffizi, Florence.

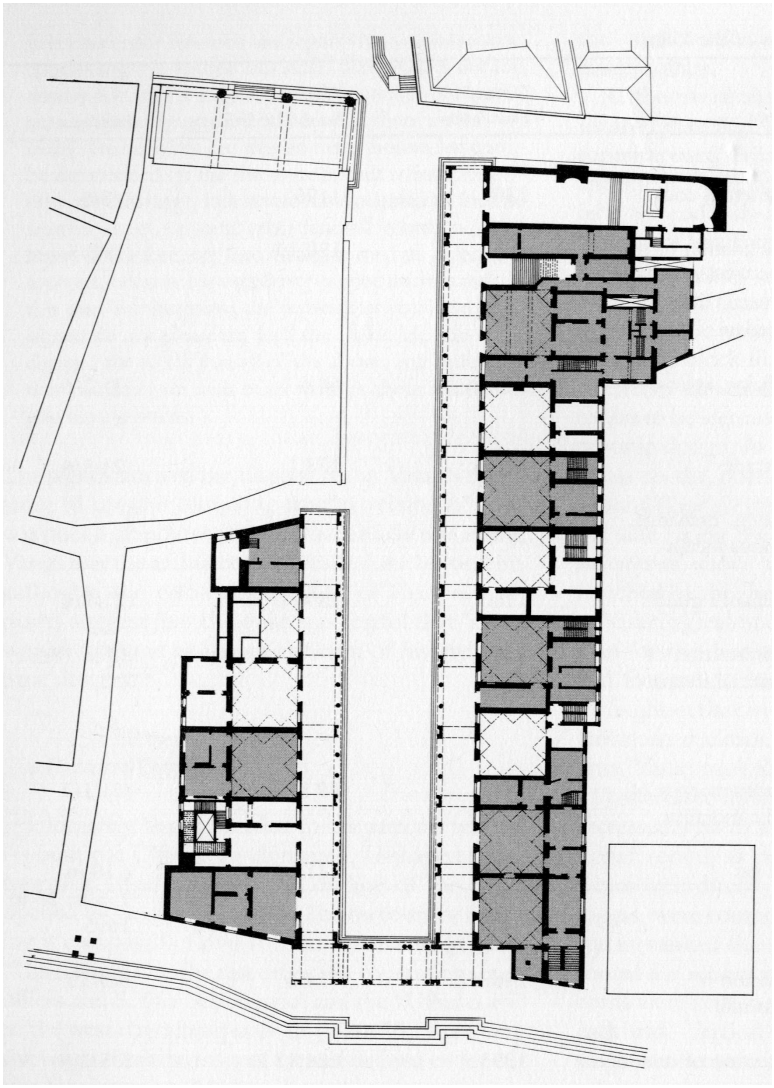

Figure 29. Plan of the Uffizi, Florence. (From Satkowski, Giorgio Vasari, 1993).

Figure 30. Vincenzo Danti, *Madonna and Child*, Baroncelli Chapel, Church of Santa Croce, Florence.

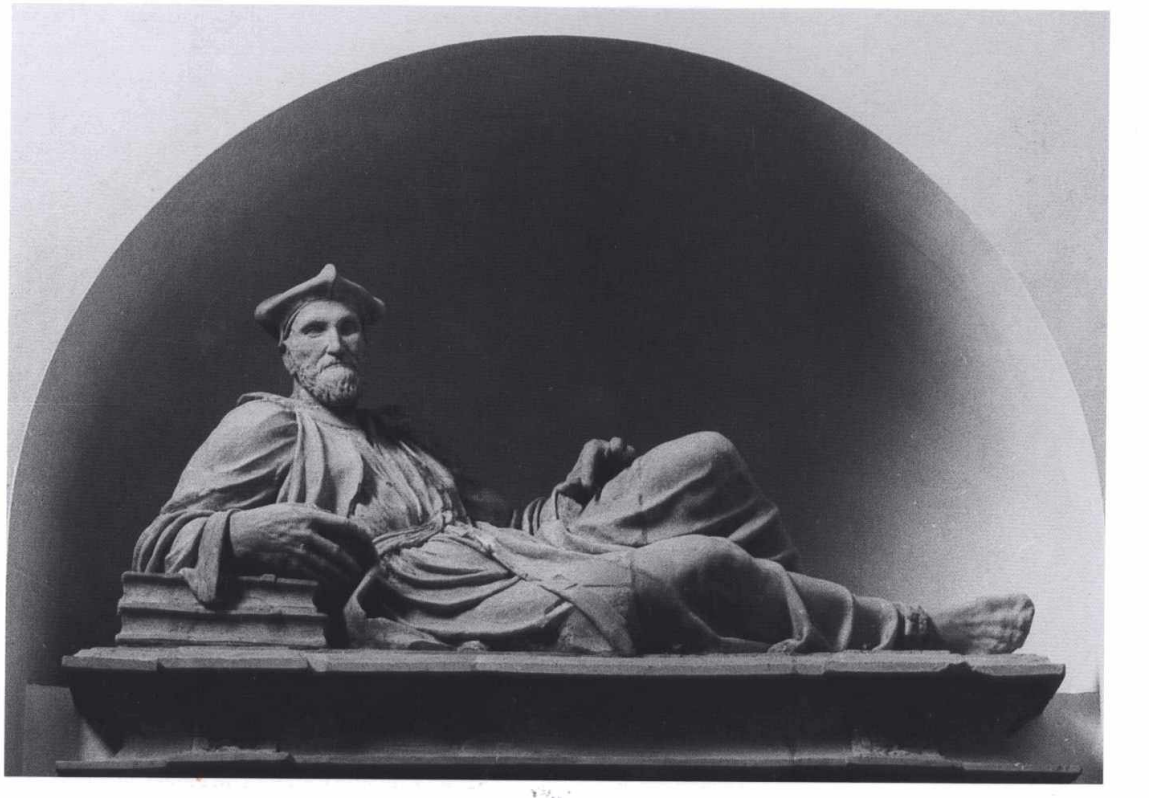

Figure 31. Vincenzo Danti, Recumbant portrait of Guglielmo Pontano, Church of San Domenico, Perugia.

Figure 32. Frontispiece to *De re anatomica*, Realdo Colombo, Venice, 1559.

Figure 33. Bartolomeo Passarotti, *Anatomy Lesson*, c. 1570, Louvre, Paris.

Figure 34. Jan van der Straet, *Academy of Art*, British Museum, London.

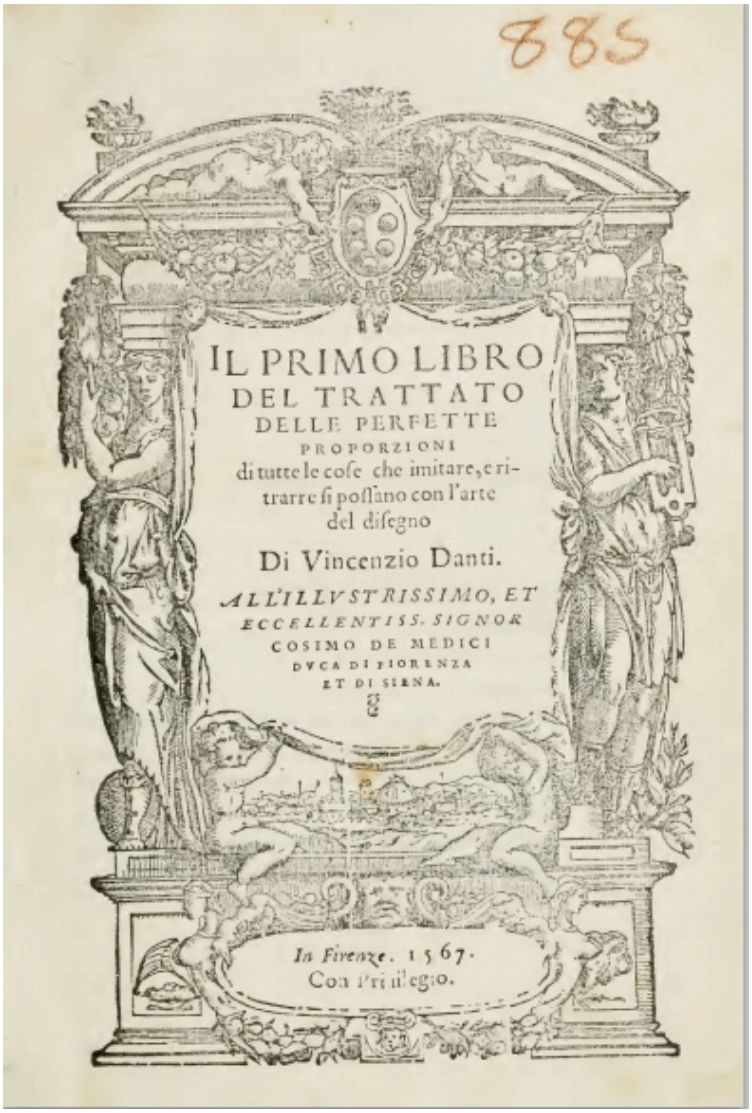

Figure 35. Frontispiece to *Il primo libro del trattato delle perfette proporzioni*, Vincenzo Danti, 1567, Florence

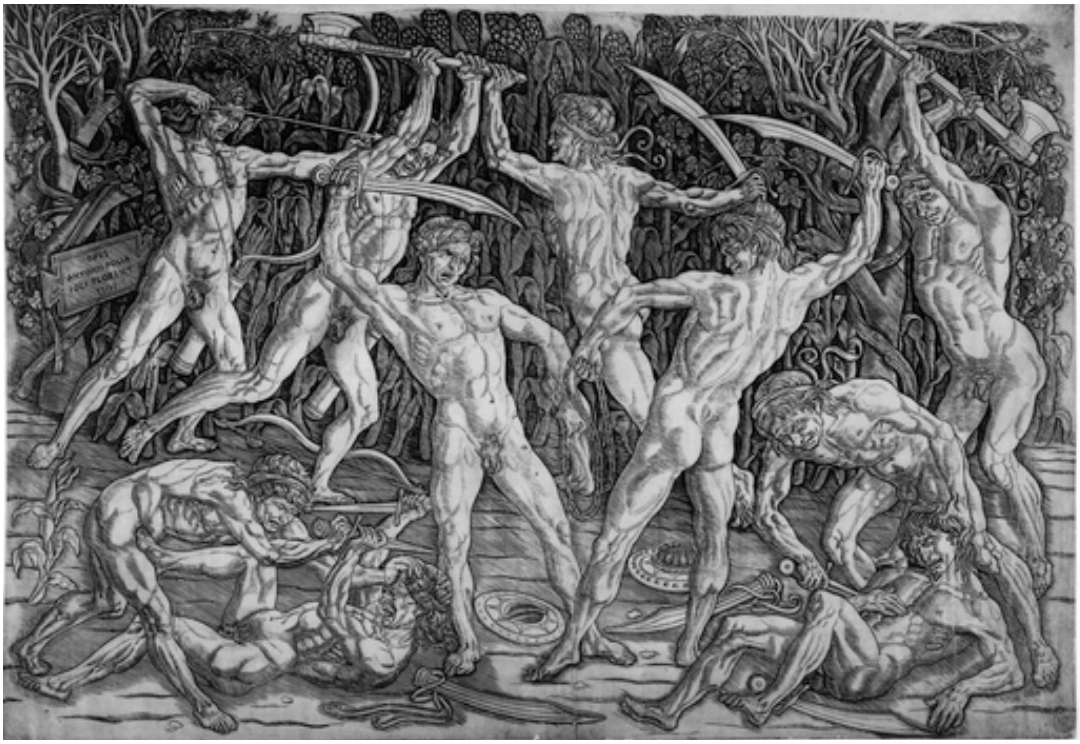

Figure 36. Antonio Pollaiuolo, *Battle of the Nudes*, c. 1470, Britisn Museum, London.

Figure 37. Vincenzo Danti, *Descent from the Cross*, c. 1561, National Gallery, Washington, D.C.

Figure 38. Vincenzo Danti, *Madonna and Child*, Museo d'Arte Antica, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Figure 39. Egnazio Danti and Timoteo Refati, Casts after *Dusk* and *Dawn* by Michelangelo Buonarroti, 1573, Accademia delle belle arti, Perugia.

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